

THE  
EXPOSITOR.

EDITED BY THE REV.

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*THIRD SERIES.*

Volume X.

*WITH ETCHED PORTRAIT OF REV. PROF. MARCUS DODS, D.D.  
BY H. MANESSE.*

London :  
HODDER AND STOUGHTON,  
27, PATERNOSTER ROW.

MDCCCLXXXIX.

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ser. 3  
v. 10  
1889:2

BUTLER & TANNER,  
THE SELWOOD PRINTING WORKS,  
FROME, AND LONDON.

## THE MINISTERIAL PRIESTHOOD.

WE have considered the general priesthood of believers under the New Testament dispensation; and, though there may be a difference of opinion with regard to some of the details which have been connected with the Church's priestly function in this world, it is satisfactory to be able to think that no difference worth speaking of exists as to the main principle involved. It is admitted by those who take what may be called the highest view of the ministerial priesthood, that a personal priesthood belongs to every member of the Body of Christ. It is not less admitted by such as take the lowest view of the ministerial position that the Church considered as a whole is priestly. We may have to complain that practically neither party does full justice to what is implied in its admissions. In its anxiety to preserve the idea of the priesthood of one particular portion of the Church the first may have limited too much the scope, or may have almost wholly lost sight of the duties and privileges, of the universal priesthood. In its dread of a repetition of the disastrous consequences which have flowed from an undue exaltation of one portion of the priesthood the second may have in no small degree helped to eliminate altogether the idea of priesthood from the Church, and may have led to its being confined, as it undoubtedly is confined, by many to the person of the risen and ascended Lord. Notwithstanding this last exceptional divergence, however, which rather in practice than in theory disturbs the general agreement, we may without hesitation assume the existence of a belief that the idea of priesthood, of priestly work and priestly privi-



lege, has a place in the Church on earth. Few contest the fact that there is a personal or universal priesthood of Christian men.

Over and above this however, it is often contended that there is a "Ministerial Priesthood," resting upon an entirely distinct foundation, and clothed with powers in which the Church in general has no share. The language used upon the point is no doubt somewhat obscure and ambiguous. But the meaning seems to be that, by the appointment of the great Head of the Church, and in conformity with the nature of all His actings, there is in the Church a special class clothed with a priesthood different from that of the Christian laity, and entitled to exercise certain important functions to which the priesthood of the latter, in its own nature, does not extend. The members of this class are supposed to be, on the one hand, the only bearers of the Divine gifts to men; while, on the other hand, the gifts of men are through them presented and made acceptable to God. They thus constitute a class of mediators, of intermediate links between God and man, a ladder, as it were, by which man ascends to God and God descends to man. "A priest is one who, not by any merit or virtue or power of his own, but by the will of God, has been made a necessary link in the chain-work of the Divine purposes. Himself as ineffectual as the words he speaks, and the inanimate creatures he may employ in his ministrations, he has nevertheless received, no necessary superiority indeed over his fellow men, but an attribute of grace, distinct from them, though given for their sakes, by virtue of which they are brought into such relationship with God, that through this instrumentality they obtain the promised blessings of the covenant under which they live."<sup>1</sup> Again, the same writer, speaking of "the priesthood of the individual Christian" and of "the Ministerial Priesthood," says: "Both

<sup>1</sup> Carter, *On the Priesthood*. p. 99.



priesthoods flow directly from Christ. . . . In Himself He laid the foundation of a twofold priesthood. Every individual Christian shares through Him the power of offering up acceptable service in his own person by virtue of the former; the Christian minister shares through Him the additional power of offering for, and communicating gifts to, his brethren by virtue of the latter.”<sup>1</sup>

In turning our attention to the questions involved in these statements by one who can be spoken of in no other terms than those of respect and admiration, it is above all things necessary to determine as clearly as possible the precise point into which we are to inquire. That point is not whether priestly character and functions belong in a certain sense to the ministers of Christ. All who admit the priestliness of the lay members of the Church must admit, at least to the same extent, the priestliness of her ministers. The latter may or may not gain by taking upon them the responsibilities of office, but they certainly do not lose by doing so. Hardly any, however, deny that the Church as a whole is priestly. Presbyterians, in particular, often thought to occupy what, for want of a better expression, may be called the lowest ground on this question, admit the priestliness of the Church as a whole without the slightest qualification or reserve. To such an extent is this the case, that one who may claim to be heard upon the point has lately spoken of “the truth and grandeur of the Reformation doctrine, that all believers are priests with right of approach to God through faith,” has said in express terms that “the one principle of the Reformation is *the priesthood of all believers*” (at the same time emphasising the latter words), and has maintained that in this great principle is to be found the explanation of both the *formal* and the *material* principles of the Reformation.<sup>2</sup> In these

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 149.

<sup>2</sup> Prof. Lindsay, in his *Bible Handbook on the Reformation*, pp. 147, 185-187.

circumstances it would be simply unreasonable and absurd to hesitate for a moment in claiming it as a belief distinctly held in all the greater Churches of the Reformation, that a Ministerial Priesthood, at least in a certain sense, does exist in the Church of Christ.

Again, the point before us is not whether Christ has appointed a Ministry in His Church; or whether, having done so, He will confer on it special grace for the performance of its duties. There are certainly those who deny both these statements; but they are few in number, and, even were they more numerous than they are, to discuss their opinions in this paper would lead us into a field of thought wholly different from that with which we have at present specially to do. The Presbyterian Church, instead of denying, admits both in the fullest manner. "Unto this catholick visible Church," says the *Westminster Confession of Faith*, "Christ hath given the ministry, oracles, and ordinances of God, for the gathering and perfecting of the saints in this life, to the end of the world, and doth by His own presence and Spirit, according to His promise, make them effectual thereunto" (chap. xxv. § 3). Speaking of the "only two sacraments ordained by Christ our Lord in the gospel," it adds, "neither of which may be dispensed by any but by a minister of the word, lawfully ordained" (chap. xxvii. § 4). The *Larger Catechism*—a document drawn up by the same assembly of divines, approved of by the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland as "a rich treasure for increasing knowledge among the people of God,"<sup>1</sup> containing a much fuller exposition of the doctrines of the Church than the *Shorter Catechism* in general use, and in every way to be preferred to it—extends this limitation to preaching as well as to the sacraments. In Q. 158 it asks, "*By whom is the word of God to be preached?*" And the answer is, "The word of

<sup>1</sup> *Act of Assembly*, July 2nd, 1648; Sess. 10.



God is to be preached only by such as are sufficiently gifted, and also duly approved and called to that office," *i.e.* to the office of preaching.

The *Form of Presbyterian Church Government*, a treatise of paramount authority in Presbyterian Churches, is not less precise than the documents already quoted. After laying down in the preface the proposition that Jesus Christ, whose exaltation and reign at the right hand of the Father it describes, "gave officers necessary for the edification of His Church and perfecting of His saints," it goes on, in the body of the treatise, to point out what these officers are. Among them are "the ordinary and perpetual, as pastors, teachers, and other Church governors, and deacons." The duty of the pastor is next pointed out. It belongs to his office to pray for and with his flock, to read the Scriptures publicly, to preach, to catechise, to dispense other Divine mysteries, to administer the sacraments, to bless the people from God, and to take care of the poor. The words used in connexion with the pastoral "blessing" spoken of, which has come in too many instances to be regarded as a mere form of prayer, may with propriety be given. They are as follows: "To bless the people from God, Numbers vi. 23, 24, 25, 26: *compared with* Revelation xiv. 5 (where the same blessings, and persons from whom they come, are expressly mentioned), Isaiah lxvi. 21, where, under the name of Priests and Levites to be continued under the gospel, are meant evangelical pastors, who therefore are by office to bless the people." Such are the authoritative statements of the Presbyterian Church, and there can be no doubt as to their meaning. They recognise in the fullest manner the institution of the Ministry as a Divine Order in the Church, and they distinctly intimate the belief that to that Order the grace necessary for the "effectual" discharge of its important duties will be granted.



The statements thus made might easily be supplemented, did our space permit, by extracts from the great writers everywhere acknowledged by Presbyterians as institutional exponents of their views. It is unnecessary, however, to spend time in giving these. What has been said is sufficient to justify the statement that the inquiry into the Ministerial Priesthood, in the form in which it demands consideration in this paper, must be wholly separated from any discussion as to the appointment of a divinely called and ordained Ministry.

Once more, in dealing with the point immediately before us, we are independent of the question of Apostolical Succession. That doctrine, as we understand it, consists in this: that inasmuch as the Church of Christ is not merely a multitude of individuals congregated together for the purpose of promoting their separate religious welfare, but is an organized whole, so in its divinely corporate character it has received from its Divine Head a Divine plan for its continued existence and guidance, to the faithful carrying out of which supernatural grace is promised, and through which that grace may be most confidently looked for. Part of that plan is the maintenance of the Ministry throughout all ages of the Church's history. To secure this, it is held that Christ, not only appointed His apostles to go everywhere preaching the word and founding churches, but that He instructed them to ordain others in their place, to be the teachers and guides of the Christian communities thus formed, when they themselves, in the execution of their mission, were compelled to carry the message of salvation to other cities or to distant lands. These successors of the apostles, again, were to ordain others in due time to occupy their position; and their successors were, age after age, to do the same, each succession not only transmitting the office, but also obtaining for those placed in it, through the performance of certain divinely appointed acts, the grace

needed for its functions. The question whether the right to confer the succession was entrusted to bishops or to presbyters has obviously no connexion whatever with the essence of the doctrine.

If this then be the meaning of Apostolical Succession, it in no degree affects the course of our inquiry as to a Ministerial Priesthood. The Presbyterian Church, if we may yet again refer to a communion so powerful both in Britain and America, has no interest in denying the doctrine. The times when her principles were most thoroughly understood and most ably defended were precisely those when the doctrine was most insisted on by her best writers. That many rejected it may be true. That even those who accepted it did so with much latitude of interpretation and great allowance for what might be done in exceptional circumstances, may be also true. But three circumstances may be mentioned which certainly show that the doctrine had a strong hold of the Presbyterian Church.

1. There is the manner in which the argument with the Independents was conducted. About the time of the Westminster Assembly it was urged with great persistency and keenness against Presbyterians, that, if the doctrine of Apostolical Succession were well-founded, they had no ministry. They acknowledged Rome to be antichrist and Babylon: therefore, to use the words of the time, they had to show that their ministers, coming to them by succession through Rome, were not "locusts from the bottomless pit, priests of Baal, and limbs of antichrist."<sup>1</sup> The task they might easily feel to be a hard one; and certainly their simplest plan would have been to cut the knot, to abandon the doctrine of the Succession, and to urge that they had

<sup>1</sup> Comp. the great work, *The Divine Right of the Gospel Ministry*, chap. iii., where the question is fully discussed. The heading of the chapter is, "Wherein the Grand Objection asserting the Loss of the Ministry under Antichrist is answered."



their ministerial commission direct from Christ. Probably that would be the answer now. But it was not so then. The reply rather was, that the corruption of one part of the Romish Church did not imply the corruption of the whole; that even in her there had always been a faithful remnant; that truth was truth wherever found; that the books of the Bible had been "wonderfully preserved in the mystical Babylon"; and that in point of fact their ministry, instead of deserving the opprobrious epithets applied to it, had by its labours and martyrdoms proved itself. Whether the arguments are good or bad is not the question. They were used, and the length to which they were drawn out shows how material to the defence of the Presbyterian position they were considered to be.

2. There is the old practice of the Cameronians as described in the following words :

"After the martyrdom of Cargill they were without a minister, and there was no minister in Scotland whom they could acknowledge. But, instead of ordaining at their own hands, they sent Renwick to Holland, to get theological training from Dutch professors, and orderly instalment in the sacred office from Dutch presbyters; and from the middle of 1681 to the end of 1683 they had neither preaching nor sacraments. Shields mentions that Renwick, in the first year of his wonderful ministry, kept note of five hundred baptisms performed by him, and at that number 'lost count.' At the Revolution they were again pastorless—Shields and Binning having gone into the Established Church,—and they did as before. Instead of making a minister, they waited on till sixteen or seventeen years afterwards God, in His providence, sent them Mr. McMillan, extruded from the Church for sympathy with Cameronian principles. And, further, as one presbyter could not ordain, they still waited and prayed for about thirty years more, when the seceder Nairn became a convert to their views; and, holding his deposition invalid, *clave errante*, at the end of half a century they were enabled to form themselves into a complete Presbyterian Church."<sup>1</sup>

The Cameronians may not be either the highest or the

<sup>1</sup> From a paper in the *Catholic Presbyterian* for Dec., 1881, p. 440.



sweetest type of Presbyterianism, but they were faithful representatives of some of its early principles.

3. There is the ritual in use among Presbyterians at the ordination of a minister down to the present day. No such ordination is valid without "the laying on of the hands of the presbytery." It is utterly useless to plead that this is simply a decent and touching arrangement handed down from the fathers. Even though it were now no more than this, it would witness to a time when it was more. Unless too, it be more, it would be the duty of the Church to abandon it. She has no right to keep up forms simply because they may be devout or touching. She deals with realities; and not a form observed, not a rite practised, by her can be defended except on the ground that it expresses or confers a reality. Not one of her rites either is, or dare be, meaningless. The Church could not pass a more terrible sentence of condemnation upon herself than by saying that any one part of her services was simply a compliance with an ancient, but now unmeaning, custom. Every time therefore that the brethren lay their hands upon a young brother's head at his ordination, and set him apart to the Ministry with prayer and blessing, they proclaim to all witnesses, and that whether they themselves believe it or not, that they are conveying to others the Apostolical Succession which they have themselves received from others. To readers south of the Tweed it may be of interest to be told that in the Presbyterian Churches none but *ordained* ministers may lay on hands. Elders, though constituent members of presbytery, may not do so. The reason is obvious, and the practice confirms what has been said.

Thus deeply imbedded in Presbyterianism is the doctrine of Apostolical Succession, and the fact that it is so shows that in any discussion between Episcopalians and Presbyterians as to the existence of a Ministerial Priesthood,

that doctrine may be left untouched. So far as it is concerned, both parties occupy common ground.

Having thus limited the field of inquiry, there need be little difficulty in determining the precise question into which we have to look. The passages quoted from Canon Carter at the beginning of this paper seem to imply more than the three points just noticed,—that the ministers of the gospel share the general priesthood of all Christian men; that they constitute by Divine appointment a special Order in the Church; and that it is the Divine plan that they shall be admitted into that Order, and in part at least qualified for its duties, by means of a sacred ceremonial performed by those who were in like manner admitted and qualified by their predecessors, in a regular succession from our Lord and His apostles. These passages seem to imply that there are in the Christian Church two lines of grace flowing “directly” from the Head of the Church,—the one to the lay members of the Church, the other to the Ministry; and that these two lines are perfectly distinct and separate. It is not enough, upon the view thus indicated, to think of a transference from the whole Body to a part of the Body of the practical exercise of powers inherent in the former. There is a distinction in kind as well as in application, so as to preclude the thought that even in principle the lay members of the Church stand to Christ in the same relation as the Ministry, and that their privileges and duties are only concentrated in the Ministry for the sake of a more orderly attainment of ends in which all have an equal interest. Is it really so? One or two particular passages of Scripture demand attention from this point of view.

In John xx. 21–23 we read of the appearance of our Lord to His disciples on the evening of the day of His resurrection. Then “Jesus therefore said to them again, Peace be unto you: as the Father hath sent Me, even so

send I you. And when He had said this He breathed on them, and saith unto them, Receive ye the Holy Spirit : whose soever sins ye forgive, they are forgiven unto them ; whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained." That ministerial privileges of the highest order are here bestowed no one can for an instant doubt. The question is, Were they conferred upon the apostles alone, and that too in their capacity as first links in the ministerial chain ? The question can only be answered in the negative. Referring to what is admitted to be the same occasion, St. Luke says distinctly, that the two disciples to whom the Lord had appeared on their way to Emmaus found, when they returned to Jerusalem, "*the eleven gathered together, and them that were with them*" (chap. xxiv. 33). The apostles therefore were not alone with Jesus at the time when His commission was given and His grace bestowed. Besides this, it may be noticed that St. John himself seems carefully to distinguish between "the disciples" (vers. 18, 19, 20), and "the twelve" (ver. 24) ; nor in his narrative is there the slightest intimation that he would, in ver. 20, limit the meaning of the former term, or that any of them had left the company before the act of ver. 22 was done, or the words of ver. 23 were spoken. To the Church as a whole both the act and the words belong.<sup>1</sup>

Again, in James v. 16, we read, "Confess therefore your sins one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." It is true that the words "one to another," are interpreted by many, for example by Döllinger,<sup>2</sup> as referring simply to the priests called in to anoint the sick man and pray for him. But Döllinger, while making the assertion offers no proof of its correctness ; and the arguments either used by Elwin, or quoted by him from others, are so in-

<sup>1</sup> Comp. Luthardt and Westcott *in loc.*

<sup>2</sup> *First Age of the Church*, p. 325. Comp. Elwin, on *Confession and Absolution*, p. 340.



conclusive even to himself, that he can only sum up his statement with the words, "*Whatever more general meanings may be included under St. James's exhortation, that is the most appropriate to the context and the phraseology, which makes it an admonition to the clergy to exercise a ministry to which was attached the privilege of officially 'covering sins.'*"<sup>1</sup> We are not concerned to deny that, as a matter of order, it may be well that confession should be made to the Ministry rather than to lay members of the Church. What we contend for is, that the words "one to another" cannot be limited to the former, and that they can only mean that there rests in the whole Church, and not simply in a part of it, the blessing to be gained by confession and prayer.<sup>2</sup> In connexion with this text may be also noticed the use of the word "Church" in Matthew xviii. 15-17: "And if thy brother sin against thee, go, show him his fault between thee and him alone: if he hear thee, thou hast gained thy brother. But if he hear thee not, take with thee one or two more, that at the mouth of two witnesses or three every word may be established. And if he refuse them, tell it unto the Church (or congregation): and if he refuse to hear the Church also, let him be unto thee as the Gentile and the publican." In this passage it is impossible to understand, with Döllinger,<sup>3</sup> by the word Church or congregation the "officers of the Church." The Church or congregation is spoken of as a whole; nor is there any inconsistency between this and the fact

<sup>1</sup> Page 351.

<sup>2</sup> It may be well to notice that this is the opinion of the late Bishop Moberly. "This is the meaning of that precept of St. James, 'Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed.' For in the Body of Christ in general there is a power of healing different from that which is in each separate member of that Body, and able to supplement and fill up its deficiencies" (*Administration of the Holy Spirit*, p. 222). To this statement may be added the following important words by the same writer: "We believe that in absolution it is the Church's peace that is given" (p. 50).

<sup>3</sup> *Ut supra*.

that, for the sake of a "regular course or ordered administration," the duty to be discharged might afterwards be transferred to the Church's officers.

The most important passage in connexion with this subject is however the account given us in Acts ii. of the events of the day of Pentecost. Did the tongues of fire there spoken of descend only upon the heads of the twelve, or upon the heads of all the brethren who were now "together in one place"? Moberly is uncertain how to answer. "I wish therefore," he says, "to be understood, not as denying that the number of those on whom the tongues rested exceeded twelve—though I confess that I doubt it—but as meaning that on twelve, and twelve only, they rested in such sort as to make them the patriarchs of the family of Christ, the channels of the communication of the graces of the Holy Spirit, in His orderly and covenanted methods, to the sons of men."<sup>1</sup> This is simply the voice of uncertainty upon the point we have in view.

An able writer in the *Church Quarterly Review* has recently taken stronger ground,<sup>2</sup> and has urged that there are distinct traces in the passage showing that it refers to the twelve alone. (1) All who spoke, and these were unquestionably the same "all" as are said in ver. 4 to have been filled with the Holy Spirit, were "Galileans" (ver. 7). But the expression was natural in the circumstances. The larger number even of the brethren were without doubt from Galilee. (2) St. Peter and the eleven are in ver. 14 mentioned in immediate connexion with the event. But this very circumstance seems rather to lead to the conclusion that the "all" of the previous verses of the chapter embraced a wider number than the apostolic twelve. If the twelve have been the only persons spoken of throughout, why make special mention of them now? On the other

<sup>1</sup> *Ut supra*, p. 39.

<sup>2</sup> *Church Quarterly Review*, Jan., 1887, p. 373.

hand, it was in the highest degree natural that, when St. Peter stepped forward with the evident intention of addressing the people (as implied in the word *σταθείς*, comp. v. 20, xvii. 22, xxvii. 21), the eleven rather than all the brethren should have stood forth with him. (3) The word *ἅπαντες* in the early chapters of Acts normally denotes the apostles only (comp. iv. 31, 32; v. 12, 13). But the *πάντες* in chap. ii. 1 are clearly distinguished from the twelve alluded to in chap. i. 26; and, allowing that the same word in chap. i. 14 appears to apply only to the apostles, there is yet a transition at ver. 15 to the whole number of the disciples. This also accounts for the limitation in ver. 26. Had "all" been the normal term for the apostles, we might have expected to read, "and he was numbered with them all." In chap. iv. 33 also the *πάντες* can only be understood of "the multitude of them that believed," mentioned in ver. 32, while the *ἅπαντες* of ver. 31 must include the *τοὺς ἰδίους* of ver. 23, and this expression it is at least unnatural to limit to the twelve. Comp. also the words "as many" and "any one" in vers. 34, 35, neither of which expressions can be confined to the apostles, although they are certainly the "all" of ver. 33. If similar remarks may not be applied to chap. v. 12, it is not because *πάντες* is there used in any technical sense, but because the apostles had been spoken of immediately before, because the whole narrative appears to be occupied with them, and because "the rest" referred to, as distinct from the apostles on the one hand, and "the people" on the other, are most probably to be understood of the general members of the Christian community. The unlikelihood of the suggested limitation of the word "all" is further strengthened by the fact that in chap. ii. 17 the apostle describes the outpouring of the Spirit *which had just taken place* as a fulfilment of the prophecy of Joel, "Your sons and your daughters shall prophesy," and that in all the



early chapters of Acts it is the condition of the Church as a whole to which we are introduced. Her duties, her privileges, the grace bestowed upon her, and the striking results produced by her means, not, except in the case of Matthias, the institution of a Ministry or an account of what was done by it, are the topics with which the sacred writer deals.<sup>1</sup>

We conclude, from all that has been said, that no two original lines of grace are spoken of in the New Testament, one for the Ministry, another for the Church at large; or, if a different mode of expressing the conclusion be preferred, that we do not read of one line of grace flowing to the Church through the Ministry. The Church is in direct and immediate communication with her exalted Head, and she receives the Spirit directly and immediately from Him, and not by means of any intervening Order, such as that of the covenant which had vanished away.

This conclusion is in no small degree confirmed by a circumstance so well known that we may be excused enlarging on it, that the Christian minister, often as he is brought before us in the New Testament, is not once spoken of as a priest. Attempts have indeed been made to escape the force of this remarkable fact, but they cannot be said to have been successful. It is true that "it was manifestly not the design of God to precipitate the separation between Judaism and Christianity, to throw scorn on the ancient faith, or to bring out too prominently at first all the dis-

<sup>1</sup> As this paper is becoming too long, the writer would call attention very briefly in a note to a consideration in connexion with the subject which, so far as he knows, has not been hitherto adduced. In Acts x. we read of the calling of the Gentile Church, and ver. 44 of that chapter shows that the Holy Spirit was given *directly*, and not through the laying on of St. Peter's hands, to Cornelius and "all them which heard the word." Does not this at least make it likely that, in Acts ii., where the assembled disciples were probably all Jews, the Holy Spirit would be given to them in the same way; that is, *directly*, and not through the instrumentality of the twelve? Comp. also for the effect ver. 46 with Acts ii. 4.

tinctions which were in due season to unfold themselves out of the old institutions.”<sup>1</sup> But if the idea of the Ministerial Priesthood, in a form distinct from that of the Church generally, was, as on the supposition of which we are dealing it must have been, the central idea of the Christian Church, there was peculiar need to show that it continued to exist. This was done with the idea of “sacrifice.” Sacrifice was as distinguishing a feature of Judaism as priesthood. Yet, so far from avoiding the word “sacrifice,” the sacred writers constantly employ it, only putting its now higher meaning into the term. The true way therefore, at once to preserve the connexion between the two dispensations, and at the same time to elevate the latter, would have been to preserve the term “priest” for the minister, pointing out, while doing this, the nobler nature of the functions he was henceforward to discharge. The same course was followed with the word “temple,” or rather with the word *ναός*. St. Paul did not drop that word. He applied it rather in the most emphatic manner to Christians, only leading them to see how much deeper and more spiritual than formerly its meaning was.

Again, it is true that the power of old associations connected with a particular term may lead to the disuse of that term in order that we may more easily rise to higher thoughts. But in such a case there is no intention to re-introduce the term at a subsequent period. To do this would reawaken its old associations, and the benefit expected from its discontinuance would be lost. Strangely enough, the effort has been made to illustrate this abandonment of an old word, while at the same time ideas embodied in it were retained and expanded, by St. Paul’s use of the word “sabbath.”<sup>2</sup> That word, rejected as a name for the Lord’s day in all the earlier centuries of Christianity, certainly rose to life again after the Reformation. Will

<sup>1</sup> Carter, *ut supra*, p. 121.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid*, p. 123.

any intelligent man deny that its revival and reintroduction with such a meaning could never have been contemplated by St. Paul; or that, when revived, it brought back, to the serious injury of the Church's life, ideas which it had been the great effort of the apostle to overthrow? Upon this point it is not necessary to say more. The conclusion formerly drawn is very greatly strengthened by the circumstance that the Christian minister is never differentiated from the Christian laity by the statement that he is in particular a priest, or that he possesses a priesthood in its own nature of another kind than theirs.

In the light of what has been said two questions naturally arise and require an answer. First, Is there then such a thing as a Ministerial Priesthood? And, secondly, If there be such a thing, what is its relation to the general or universal priesthood? The first of these questions may be disposed of in a very few words.

If there is a Ministry at all, there is also a Ministerial Priesthood; and we have already seen that the question as to the existence of a divinely appointed Ministry is one with which we have here nothing to do. In conformity with the great law everywhere observable, and for ever confirmed by the Incarnation, the inward is served by the outward, and the body is not one member, but many. "God hath set some in the Church, first apostles, secondly prophets, thirdly teachers, then miracles, then gifts of healings, helps, governments, divers kinds of tongues" (1 Cor. xii. 28). The members of the spiritual, as of the human, body are necessary to its welfare; and as God has assigned its own proper place to each member of the latter, so in the former He has assigned to the office-bearers of His Church their own separate position. He "is not a God of confusion, but of peace; as in all the Churches of the saints" (1 Cor. xiv. 33). He has a plan,



and in that plan He has appointed a Ministry; on that Ministry He has imposed certain duties; to it He has promised special grace for the discharge of these duties: and that plan it becomes us to honour. Only by honouring it, although grace may be given in other ways, have we a covenant right to expect it in its fulness, and a covenant encouragement to plead for it. But it is a matter of order, of divinely appointed order indeed, yet not of special and independent privilege, that the Ministry shall exist as the organ of the priestly Church. It must therefore, in the nature of the case, be priestly. Nor is there any reason why this order should not in the main follow the lines of the ancient economy, or why those should not be found in it who correspond to the Priests and Levites of the earlier dispensation. Rather is it natural to expect that this shall be to a large extent the case. God is the same; human nature is the same; and the end of religion is the same, now as then. But our Priests and Levites, if we have them, are not the successors of those who once bore these names. Their appointment is directly due to the great Head of the Church, from whom all Christian institutions, as well as all Christian influences, gifts, and graces, exclusively proceed. Thus placed in office the ministers of the Church take their general priesthood with them. As redeemed men they cannot cease to be "priests unto our God and Father." Priesthood is the fundamental conception of their relation to God; and, as it must regulate the discharge of every duty of the Christian life, so it must regulate the discharge of the new duties that they have taken in hand. The difference between their old and their new position does not lie in the word "Priesthood," it lies in the word "Ministerial."

We are thus brought to the answer to the second question above proposed, as to the relation between the Ministerial Priesthood and the Church. For the members of the body,

to which the apostle, in words recently quoted, compares all to whom special duties are assigned within it, possess no pre-eminence over the body. They are subordinate to it. They are instruments to promote its life. In discharging their several functions, they are only returning to the body the favours which, through it, have been first bestowed upon themselves. This is the view taken in the main, though with unnecessary limitation and hesitation, by Bishop Moberly in his second Bampton Lecture on *The Administration of the Holy Spirit*.<sup>1</sup> He takes the case of the survivors of the crew of the *Bounty* cast upon Pitcairn's Island; and, referring to the power of the natural body to reimburse the loss of one faculty by fresh power added to others, he does not doubt that "the life that is in all the members may suffice in some degree to supply something that in particular places is wanting"; only urging at the same time, what will hardly be denied by any one, that "the locally or partially interrupted succession should be restored as soon and as completely as possible," and adding that "all the lay people together can neither be nor make a priest." Why this hesitation? Why this "in some degree"? And why the last quoted sentence? Probably it springs from the bishop's leaning to the idea of a double line of grace. Let us take what seems to be the juster view, that all grace flows to the members of the Body through the Body, and we need have no hesitation in saying that, when God in His providence interrupts the succession, it may be, so far as His blessing is concerned and until circumstances change, fully and perfectly restored, and that all the

<sup>1</sup> Such also appears to be the opinion of Gore in his recent work on *The Ministry of the Christian Church*. That work has come into the hands of the present writer, only at the instant when his already finished paper is on the point of being sent to the printer. So far as he has had time to examine it, it seems to him that, written not only with great ability but admirable temper, it ought to prove a true *irenicum* between Episcopalians and Presbyterians on the important subject with which it deals.

ordinances of the Church might prove on that lonely island as rich in blessing as they had ever proved when administered by those about whose succession from the apostles there could be no dispute. The Church of Christ was there in the two or three gathered together in their Lord's name. He was in the midst of them to bless them, and when, according to the Divine plan, carried out in the only way in which it was possible to carry it out, the collective powers of the priestly Church were transferred for exercise to one of their number, that one was, for the time and in the circumstances, as truly clothed with a Ministerial Priesthood as though it had been said to him in solemn assembly, with the laying on of the hands of the regular Succession, "Receive thou the Holy Ghost."

By the view now taken alone does it seem possible to reconcile the two wholly different classes of texts with regard to the Ministry which meet us in the New Testament. On the one hand, we find St. Paul often speaking in the strongest terms of the independence of that position occupied towards the people by himself and those appointed to "the care of the Churches." "Let a man so account of us," he says, "as of ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. . . . But with me it is a very small thing that I should be judged of you, or of man's judgment" (1 Cor. iv. 1-3). While to Timothy he cries, "Reprove, rebuke, exhort, with all longsuffering and teaching"; and to Titus, "These things speak and exhort and reprove with all authority. Let no man despise thee" (2 Tim. iv. 2; Tit. ii. 15). These disciples were not the servants of the people. They had not their commission from them. They were not answerable to them. They did not wield the powers of the Church *only* by delegation from the Church. It was God's call that they had obeyed, His work that they did, His grace that made them successful. On the other hand, we find the same apostle speaking not less, probably

even more, frequently of his own and his fellow ministers' work as a work done in the service of the Church. "We preach not ourselves, but Christ Jesus as Lord, and ourselves as your servants for Jesus' sake"; "Not that we have lordship over your faith, but are helpers of your joy"; "All things are yours: whether Paul, or Apollos, or Cephas" (2 Cor. iv. 5, i. 24; 1 Cor. iii. 22). And it is undeniable that, if we search the New Testament epistles for the leading conception which they present of the Christian minister in his relation to the Church, it is that of a *διάκονος*, and that his work is that of a *διακονία*.

Both these attitudes then are at once explicable, when we think of the Christian minister as by Divine appointment concentrating in himself for the sake of order the priestly functions of the Church, but at the same time ministering to the Church no more than she already possesses, himself receiving through the Body the life which enables him to serve the Body. In this respect there appears to be a distinct difference between the position of the official Jewish priesthood and the Ministerial Priesthood of the Christian Church. The course of the former is not the same as that of the latter. Under one important aspect it is rather the very opposite. The Levitical priesthood was external to the general priesthood of Israel, protected it, looked towards it, deepened the thought of it, when the very idea of priesthood might otherwise have perished. The Christian official priesthood is wrapped up in the general priesthood of the Church, is protected by it, works from it, has its own position strengthened by what is wider and more powerful than itself. Abandon the idea of the priestly Church, and the idea of the priestly Ministry at once goes with it. It is through the Church that the grace of Christ works in the souls of both ministers and people. Destroy the channel by which the grace is conveyed, and the flow of the life-giving waters must cease. Hence the order of the apostle's words



to the Corinthians, "Yea and I would that ye did reign, that we also might reign with you" (1 Cor. iv. 8).

What has been said of the Ministerial Priesthood ought to make it clear that a belief in it is not calculated to foster a spirit of sacerdotal assumption in the Ministry. Rather is the belief fitted to deepen the humility of ministers, and that in exact proportion to the degree in which they are impressed by its most characteristic aspects. If, as we saw in a former paper, the chief meaning and end of the Church in her priestly character is the service of man, how much more must this be the meaning and end of the work of those in whom the functions of the Church are concentrated in order that they may be discharged with greater efficiency and power! The path of service is not the path of pride. The feeling of the minister that the right to bestow the blessings he dispenses comes to him through those very persons to whom he dispenses them must tend, not less powerfully than anything else that can be named, to keep him lowly in mind. Not only does he obtain all that he is or bestows *from* God: he obtains it all *through* those whom he is called to serve. "The Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister, and to give His life a ransom for many." That was true humility and lowliness; and woe betide the minister who does not feel that so to give his life a ransom is the chief obligation resting upon him in his Ministerial Priesthood!

One word more, and we have done. Every effort ought to be made to obliterate the distinction between the ministers and lay members of the Church in respect to the essence of their common priesthood. Hence it always seems to us a matter of regret that the word "priest" should be applied so exclusively as it is to the former. Many reasons may no doubt be assigned for this application of the term to them. But every one knows the power of words over thought, and when that power tends ob-

viously to convey false impressions, some effort ought to be made to counteract it. In the Service Book prepared by Archbishop Laud for use in Scotland, the word "presbyter" was, at least in the communion service, always substituted for the word "priest," and the communion office of the Scotch Episcopal Church retains the change to this day. The true expression for the minister's position is, not that he is in an especial sense "the priest," but that he is "the servant of the priesthood"; and, in one way or another, this ought to find better expression than it does in the language in common use. When it does, it will both help to raise the people to a higher sense of their privileges, and to put down that tendency to presumption in the Ministry against which, so deeply is it rooted in human nature, we cannot too carefully guard.

W. MILLIGAN.

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### A MÆDIEVAL ILLUSTRATION OF THE DOCUMENTARY THEORY OF THE ORIGIN OF THE SYNOPTIC GOSPELS.

THE question of the origin and mode of composition of our synoptic gospels is admittedly one of the most perplexing in the whole sphere of New Testament criticism. How are we to account for the striking resemblances, and no less striking differences, which exist between them?

The theory that the former are due to the use of some common document or documents is one which has been vigorously maintained, and still more vigorously attacked. The supporters of the theory have often injured their own cause by attempting to define with a precision not justified

by the present state of our knowledge the exact relation of the synoptics to one another, and to the documents which they are supposed to have used. In this way the documentary theory has been exposed to discredit which it does not in itself deserve. On the other hand, the opponents of that theory have always seemed to me to base their arguments far too much on *à priori* considerations. Many of the assertions which they make as to what a serious writer will do, or will not do, in the way of dealing with the documents which he embodies in his work could never have been made by any one who has worked at history from original sources. Any one, for instance, who has used the mediæval chroniclers, and knows how each one makes use of his predecessors, epitomising the earlier part, which has less interest for him, copying the part nearer his own time more or less exactly, and adding a continuation of his own,—only to be in turn epitomised, copied, and continued by others;—any one, I say, who is familiar with these phenomena will hesitate to lay down *à priori* canons as to what a writer may or may not do in the treatment of his materials.

As a specimen of this *à priori* style of criticism, I will take the following passage from M. Godet, one of the most vigorous and most able of the opponents of the documentary theory:

“The chief reason for which it is thought necessary to regard Matthew as one of Luke’s sources is the identical expressions and parts of phrases which occur both in the discourses and in the parallel narratives. But whence comes it that this resemblance is . . . intermittent, and that not only in the same narrative, but in the same paragraph and in the same phrase? Did Luke slavishly copy Matthew for a quarter of a line, and then in the next quarter write independently of him? But this is child’s play if the sense is the same; it is still worse if the change alters the sense. We know the answer which is again given here: he had not Matthew only, but other documents as well before him; he combines together those various texts. Behold



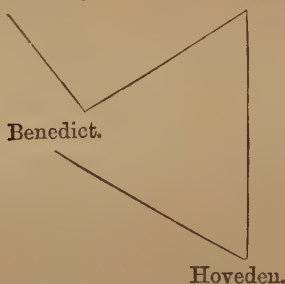
our author, then, borrowing three words from one document, two from another, four from a third, and that in every phrase from beginning to end of his gospel! Who can admit the idea of such patchwork? . . . Let the parable of the sower be reperused in a synopsis, comparing the two texts, and it will be felt that to maintain that the first of those texts is derived from the other, in whole and [?] or in part, is not only to insult the good faith, but the good sense of the second writer."—Godet, *Commentary on St. Luke*, Eng. trans., vol. ii., p. 425.

Now I am not concerned with the question whether St. Luke did or did not copy St. Matthew, but only with the general assumptions contained in the above passage.

A little while ago it occurred to me to test assumptions of this kind by reference to two mediæval chroniclers whom I knew to be closely related, Benedict of Peterborough and Roger of Hoveden. Owing however to the marginal references given in the Bishop of Oxford's admirable editions of those chronicles, I was enabled to carry the investigation a step farther back, and to consider not merely the relation of Hoveden to Benedict, but also the relation of both of them to certain earlier authorities. The inquiry proved instructive beyond anything which I had dared to hope, and I now proceed to give specimens of the results obtained.

The first passage which I have been led to select is one which relates the return of Thomas Becket to England towards the end of the year 1170. Benedict's account of this event is founded in part on two earlier narratives: one, a life of Becket by John of Salisbury, the other, a *Passion* of the saint by an anonymous writer; but he makes much more use of the former than of the latter. Hoveden's account is based partly on Benedict, partly on an independent and ampler use of the *Passio Anonyma*. The life by John of Salisbury he only knew so far as it was embodied in Benedict. The table of relationship stands therefore thus:

John of Salisbury. - *Passio Anonyma*.



I now proceed to give the passages from the different authors. And first John of Salisbury:

"Instabatque peremptorius dies, ut sententia ulterius differri non posset. Arctatus itaque rex severitate canonica, tandem acquievit ut pax Anglicanæ ecclesiæ reformaretur. Regna itaque gavisæ sunt, cunctis credentibus negotium potius veraciter agi quam concepi simulate: sed quid ageretur a quibusdam rei exitus declaravit. . . . Et licet multi dissuaderent ne redire præsumeret, nisi pax certius firmaretur, periculum tamen metuens animarum, ad ecclesiam suam rege sibi præstante conductum, septimo exilii anno reversus est, et a clero et populo receptus tanquam angelus Domini. Quum vero dominus papa præfatam jam dicti Eboracensis et episcoporum qui ei adstiterant præsumptionem sancto Thoma conquirere audisset, tam Eboracensem archiepiscopum quam faventes ei episcopos ab episcopali suspendit officio, et Gilbertum Londoniensem et Jocelinum Saresberiensem in sententiam anathematis revocavit. Quæ severitas in sancti Thomæ ingressu publicata regem amplius exacerbavit, et linguas toxicatas detrahentium efficaciores reddidit ad nocendum. Iterum ergo damnis, iterum atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico prohibitus ecclesiæ suæ septa exire. Quisquis ei vel alicui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei in multa patientia sufferebat, malens non modo rerum sed, et salutis subire jacturam quam justitiam Dei et ecclesiæ libertatem absque subventionem vel saltem reclamationem periclitari."—Giles, *St. Thomas Cantuariensis*, vol. i., pp. 332, 333.

The *Passio Anonyma* runs as follows:

"[Rex] ergo . . . archiepiscopum recepit in gratiam, et ad suam redire concessit ecclesiam. Inchoante autem anno septimo

quum jam Deo vir esset amabilis, spiritualibus exercitiis sanctificatus, et septiformi spiritus sancti gratia perfectior, ad sedem suam quantocius repedare festinabat. Noluit enim pater pius Cantuariensem ecclesiam diutius desolatam relinquere, vel quam, ut creditur, in spiritu viderat certaminis sui gloriam protelare, aut alibi moriendo sedem propriam martyrii sui honore privare. Transito itaque mari archipræsul et futurus martyr in magna gloria et honore præcipue a monachis cum solenni processione quasi angelus Domini susceptus est, in ecclesia sua omnibus præ gaudio illacrimantibus et cum gratiarum actione clamantibus: 'Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini.' Omnibusque in pacis osculo receptis familiariter commorans inter eos, conversatione sua et exhortationis verbo omnes edificabat.

"Acceptis post modicum in mandatis ne officium suum exsequendo Angliam peragraret, resedit in sua pontifex ecclesia intrepidus expectans horam qua a Deo perciperet martyrii coronam. Præmunitus siquidem a multis sciebat quod brevis foret ejus vita et mors in januis. Ibi quasi tunc vivere cœpisset, exactum vitæ tempus spiritualibus exercitiis redimere satagebat. Sciensque quod vita præsens via est et militia, ut esset sanctus corpore et spiritu vitiis expeditus, succinxit se ad cursum virtutibus armatus, accinxit ad pugnae conflictum. Cursum ergo consummando cucurrit non quasi in incertum, bene certando non quasi aërem verberans. Prodigabat tunc fere ejus cogitatio et sermo de fine hujus viæ et vitæ miseria."—Giles, *ut supra*, ii., 142, 143.

Benedict's account is as follows (I print in smaller type the parts of his narrative which are taken from John of Salisbury, and in italics the parts which are taken from the *Passio Anonyma*. Where the order has been altered I use in addition spaced type):—

"Instabat itaque dies preemptorius ut sententia ulterius differri non posset. Arctatus ergo rex Anglorum severitate canonica, tandem adquevit, ut pax Anglicanæ ecclesiæ reformaretur, et . . . *recepit . . . in gratiam* et amorem suum prædictum Cantuariensem *archiepiscopum*. . . . Regna itaque gavisa sunt de adventu et consolatione patris sui Thomæ Cantuariensis archiepiscopi. Nam ipse periculum metuens animarum ad ecclesiam suam, rege sibi præstante conductum septimo exilii sui anno reversus est in Angliam. Cum vero Cantuariam venisset, a clero et populo tanquam angelus Domini receptus est, *omnibus clamantibus* et dicentibus, *Benedictus qui venit in nomine Domini*. Ipse autem tanquam bonus pastor *omnibus in osculo pacis receptis*, illos paterna exhortatione monuit et docuit fraternitatem diligere, et si necesse fuerit, animas ponere, et certare usque ad mortem pro lege Dei.

Cum vero dominus papa præfatam jam dicti Eboracensis et episcoporum qui ei



astiterant, præsumtionem, conquerente beato Thoma, ut supradictum est, audisset; Rogerum Eboracensem archiepiscopum et Hugonem Dunelmensem episcopum et Walterum Rofensem episcopum ab omni episcopali suspendit officio, et Gillebertum Lundeniensem et Joscelinum Salesbiriensem in sententiam anathematis revocavit. Quæ severitas in Sancti Thomæ ingressu publicata, regem amplius exacerbavit, et linguas toxicatas detrahentium ad nocendum efficaciores reddidit. Nam Rogerus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, et Joscelinus Salesbirensis episcopus, et Gillebertus Lundeniensis episcopus . . . ipsum regem . . . magis ac magis adversus illum in iram commoverunt. Iterum ergo damnis, iterum atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico præceptus ecclesiæ suæ septa non exire. Quisquis ei vel alicui suorum faciem hilarem prætendebat, hostis publicus censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferebat, et *familiariter inter suos commorans conversatione sua omnes ædificabat.*—*Benedict of Peterborough*, ed. Stubbs, i. 8-10.

Before going on to give Hoveden's version, it will be well to analyse the relation of Benedict to his predecessors. And first of all let us notice the minute changes which he makes in his authorities. Thus in John of Salisbury he alters *itaque* into *ergo*, *sancto* into *beato*, *prohibitus* into *præceptus non*, *in* into *cum*. He changes "receptus tanquam angelus Domini" into "tanquam a. D. r.," "efficaciores reddidit ad nocendum" into "ad n. e. r.," "Sancto Thoma conquerente" into "c. beato T." He adds *Anglorum* to *rex*, *sui* to *exilii*, *in Angliam* to *reversus est* for the sake of clearness, *omni* to *officio* for the sake of emphasis. So in the *Passio* he changes *eos* into *suos*, "archiepiscopum recepit in gratiam" into "r. . . . in g. . . . a.," "in pacis osculo" into "in o. p.," adds *Cantuariensem* to *archiepiscopum*, *amorem* to *gratiam*, and *dicentibus* to *clamantibus*, and so on. But according to M. Godet "this is child's play if the sense is the same." More important however is it to notice the way in which Benedict combines his authorities. He begins by copying Salisbury, then, after some details of his own which I have omitted, he inserts four words from the *Passio*. Then after more details of his own he borrows four words from Salisbury, "regna . . . sunt," but applies them quite differently, and

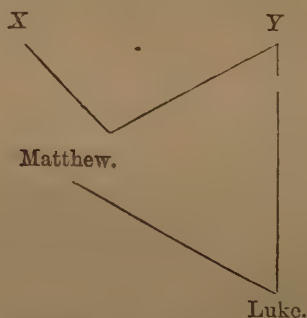
after following Salisbury for a while, suddenly, *in the middle of a sentence*, passes to the *Passio* at the word *omnibus*. The next paragraph is taken in the main from Salisbury, with additions by Benedict himself (thus he gives the exact names of the suspended prelates, etc.). But suddenly at the end of it he passes once more to the *Passio* at the word *familiariter*, positively using up here the second half of a sentence, the former half of which he had inserted more than half a page above. "Behold our author then" literally "borrowing three words from one document . . . four from another." Let M. Godet notice that "the resemblance is intermittent . . . in the same paragraph and in the same phrase," that Benedict *does* "slavishly copy" his authority "for a quarter of a line, and then in the next quarter write independently of him."

I pass on now to give Hoveden's version of the same facts. (Here, as before, I indicate the parts taken from the *Passio* by italics, using the small type in this case to show what is taken from Benedict.)

"[Rex] *ergo* . . . (exactly as in the *Passio* down to) . . . *concessit ecclesiam*. (Then comes a passage peculiar to Hoveden on the reconciliation of Henry and Becket, after which he continues from the *Passio*) *Inchoante autem anno septimo exilii sui cum jam esset vir*, etc. . . . *honore privare*. (Next comes a long passage peculiar to Hoveden on Becket's habits and modes of life. Then) *Transito itaque mari, archiepiscopus et futurus martyr in magna gratia, gloria et honore, præcipue a monachis cum solemnî processione quasi angelus Dei susceptus est in ecclesia sua, omnibus præ gaudio illacrymantibus, et cum gratiarum actione clamantibus, Benedictus . . . Domini*. Ipse autem tanquam bonus pastor omnibus in osculo pacis exceptis illos paterna exhortatione monuit et docuit fraternitatem diligere, Deo obedire, in bonis perseverare, ad (?et) certare pro lege Dei usque ad mortem. (A paragraph peculiar to Hoveden on Becket's banishment from the court.) *Ergo damnis iterum, et atrocioribus injuriis supra modum et numerum athleta Christi affectus est, et edicto publico præceptus ecclesiæ suæ septa non exire. Quisquis ei, etc., . . . censebatur. Sed hæc omnia vir Dei cum multa patientia sufferebat, et familiariter inter suos commorans, conversatione sua et exhortationis verbo omnes ædificabat. Reseditque in sua, etc., . . . vita ejus, etc., . . . viâ miseria.*"—*Hoveden*, ed. Stubbs, ii. 10-13.

Here the same phenomena recur. We have, comparing the original *Passio*, the change of *archipræsul* into *archiepiscopus*, of *Domini* into *Dei*, the addition of *exilii sui* and *gratia*, for the sake of clearness and emphasis. Comparing Benedict, we find the change of *receptis* into *exceptis*; we find "pro lege Dei usque ad mortem" instead of "u. ad m. pro l. D.," "ergo damnis iterum" for "i. e. d.," etc. We find too the change from one authority to another in adjacent sentences, and even in the same sentence. As the passage beginning "ergo damnis iterum" occurs in both authorities, it is not certain where the change from the one to the other takes place. But the words *præceptus* . . . *non* show clearly that the first part is taken from Benedict, the insertion of the words *et exhortationis verbo* proves equally that the latter part is derived from the *Passio*.

And this last phenomenon reminds us that in discussing the mutual relations of the synoptists, we must bear in mind the possibility that an evangelist may have known a document both in its original shape, and also as incorporated in the work of some brother evangelist. If we suppose X and Y to be two lost evangelic documents, the following is a perfectly possible case. I am not concerned to try and prove that it actually occurs.



Now Benedict and Hoveden were not of course inspired. But they are conspicuous among mediæval writers for in-



telligence and trustworthiness. M. Godet must not therefore tell us that to suppose that one evangelist made use of another in the way here illustrated is "to insult the good faith and the good sense of the second writer."

The next illustration which I shall take is a much simpler one. We have here only to do with the relation of Hoveden to Benedict. The earlier authorities on which they may have based their narratives have not, so far as I know, been identified. The events here described are the penance of Henry II. at the tomb of Becket, and the almost contemporary capture of the Scotch king, William the Lion, at the siege of Alnwick, in July, 1174. (I print in small type the parts which Hoveden has apparently borrowed from Benedict. Some passages in Benedict, which Hoveden has not copied, and some in Hoveden which are not derived from Benedict, are, for brevity's sake, omitted.)

"Duces . . . cum audissent quod rex Scotiæ recessisset de Prudehau et obsedisset Alnewicum . . . cum festinatione secuti sunt eum, . . . et statim ceperunt illum, et milites sui relicto illo fugerunt. Et capti fuerunt cum eo Ricardus Cumin, Willelmus de Mortemer, Willelmus de Insula, Henricus Revel, Radulfus de Ver, Jordanus Flandrensis, Waldevus filius Baldewini de Biere, Ricardus Malus Juvellus. Et sciendum est quod Rex Scotiæ, captus fuit apud Alnewic tertio idus Julii, feria septima."—Stubbs' *Benedict*, i., 66, 67.

"Et in crastino iter arripuit in peregrinatione ad Sanctum Thomam Cantuariensem martyrem; et cum appropinquasset, statim ex quo ecclesiam vidit, in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum in quo sedebat deseruit, et extractis calceamentis suis, nudus pedes, in pannis laneis processit usque ad sepulcrum beati martyris, in tanta humilitate et cordis compunctione, ut credatur, Illius operis sine dubio exstitisse, Qui respicit terram et facit eam tremere. Peracta itaque peregrinatione sua, rex in crastino, scilicet die Sabbati summo mane inde recessit versus Londoniam.

"Eadem vero die, scilicet tertio idus Julii, captus fuit rex Scotiæ apud Alnewic," etc. (*ib.*, p. 72).

Hoveden's account is as follows :

"Et in crastino peregre profectus est ad beatum Thomam Cantuariensem

martyrem. Et cum appropinquasset ex quo ecclesiam videre potuit, in qua corpus beati martyris sepultum est, equum, etc. . . . laneis, per tria milliaria profectus est usque ad sepulcrum, etc. . . . tremere. Vestigia autem ejus in via qua ambulabat . . . sanguinolenta erant; sanguis enim plurimus a teneris pedibus ejus, lapidibus duris incisis, profuebat in terram. . . . In crastino autem summo mane, missa audita inde recessit, tertio idus Julii; Sabbato Londonias iturus. Et quoniam memor fuit Domini in toto corde suo, dedit illi Dominus victoriam de inimicis suis et tradidit eos captivos in manu sua.

Nam eodem die Sabbati quo ipse a Cantuaria recessit, captus est Willelmus rex Scottorum apud Alnewic a præfatis militibus . . . qui secuti fuerant eum, post recessum de Prudehou. Sic, sic rare antecedentem scelestum deserit pœna pede claudo. Captique sunt cum eo Ricardus Cumin, etc. . . . Ricardus Mallavel et alii multi qui sponte sua se capi permiserunt ne viderentur in captione domini sui consensisse.” —Stubbs’ *Hoveden*, ii., 61, 63.

Now here I would call attention to three points :

1. The capture of the king of Scots is told at much greater length by Benedict, while the penance is more dwelt upon by Hoveden. Evidently the penance had more interest for Hoveden, the capture for Benedict. May we compare, *e.g.*, the greater interest which St. Matthew seems to take in our Lord’s sayings and discourses, as compared with St. Mark?

2. It will have been noticed that, although the capture of the Scotch king took place after Henry’s penance, it is narrated by Benedict before the latter, though he refers again briefly to the capture after describing the penance. Hoveden reverses Benedict’s order, and thus not only restores the true chronological sequence of the two events, but also brings out what was believed to have been the causal connexion between them, it being held that the Deity, appeased by Henry’s penance, had given him the victory over his enemies. We instinctively compare the way in which St. Luke restores the imprisonment of St. John the Baptist to its proper chronological position, which had been narrated out of its place and retrospectively by Matthew and Mark.

3. It is impossible not to be struck by the number of precise details given by Hoveden as compared with Benedict; *e.g.* the name of the Scottish king (Willelmus), the exact distance traversed by Henry (tria milliaria), his hearing mass the morning after his penance, the picturesque touches of the bleeding feet of the royal penitent, and the voluntary surrender of the Scottish nobles. And whether we account for these by supposing that Hoveden had special sources of oral information, or that he had access to documents not accessible to Benedict, or that while both had the same authorities before them, Hoveden made the better use of them, we can hardly fail to be reminded of the many similar vivid touches which meet us in St. Mark, and of the theories which have been or may be framed to account for the presence of those touches.

The third and last case which I shall mention is one in which Hoveden is not compiling from authorities, but professes to give the actual text of a legal document; *viz.* the Constitutions of William the Conqueror. I quote the enacting words of the first three clauses.

"(i.) In primis quidem super omnia unum Deum vellet . . . venerari, etc.

"(ii.) Statuimus etiam ut omnis liber homo . . . affirmet, etc.

"(iii.) Volo autem quod omnes homines . . . sint in pace mea," etc.—Stubbs' *Hoveden*, ii., 216.

Now here we have no means of comparing Hoveden with his original, because no copy of these Constitutions earlier than Hoveden is known to be in existence. But internal evidence shows us that even in this case changes have crept in. In clause (i.) it is plain that the direct oration "*volo*" has been changed into the indirect "*vellet*." As to clause (ii.) the regal "*we*," the *pluralis majestatis*, was not in use in William I.'s time. It is clear therefore that Hoveden has



transferred the usage of his own day to an earlier period. Clause (iii.) is probably unaltered. (Contrast clause (v.) "Interdicimus" with (x.) "interdico," (ix.) "prohibeo," (vii.) "præcipio"). Thus we see that even in documents given textually, changes—unimportant no doubt, but still changes—may be made more or less unconsciously by a perfectly honest and scrupulous writer. (Compare the case cited by Salmon, *Introduction*, ed. 3, p. 134.)

It must be borne in mind that in all that has been said above I am not professing to give proofs of what *did* take place in the composition of the synoptic gospels, but only illustrations of what *may* have taken place.

I have deliberately left out of sight the question of inspiration, because I believe that in a discussion of this kind it need exercise no disturbing influence. We have no right to assume that an inspired work must necessarily differ from an uninspired work in its mode of composition, any more than in regard to the material instruments, the paper, pens, and ink used in its production. If it can be shown that honest and intelligent writers have, as a matter of fact, composed their works in a particular way, no one has a right to assert that inspired writers could not possibly have composed their works in a similar way. The documentary theory is not hereby proved; it is vindicated from the charges of absurdity and impossibility which M. Godet brings against it.

Christians and believers in the inspiration of the gospels will of course exclude peremptorily the idea of changes introduced from any unworthy motive, such as vanity, jealousy, party spirit, prejudice, desire of concealment, exaggeration, and so forth; all, in fact, or nearly all the motives which German theologians are wont to sum up in the word *tendenz*. But changes which spring from perfectly innocent motives, such as love of variety, differences in taste

and feeling, in aim and object, these may be found in inspired just as much as in uninspired writings. "A number there are," wrote Hooker, "who think that they cannot admire, as they ought, the power of the word of God, if in things Divine they should attribute any force to man's reason." "A number there are" even now, who seem to "think" that "the word of God" will be robbed of its "power," if in the composition of it "they should attribute any force to man's" tastes and feelings. *"Εχομεν δὲ τὸν θησαυρὸν τοῦτον ἐν ὀστρακίνοις σκεύεσιν*, "we have this treasure in earthen vessels." And the more we realize the heavenly nature of the "treasure," the more reverent no doubt, but at the same time the more eagerly interested, will be our scrutiny of the "earthen vessels" in which it has been handed down to us.

CHARLES PLUMMER.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### XI. THE TEACHER'S CHARITY (CHAP. VI. 9-20).

AT this point the writer suddenly and decidedly changes his tone. He will not let his last word be one of complaint and despondency. He refuses to believe that the apostate's doom is in store for the Hebrew Christians. Therefore he hastens to assure them that he cherishes hopeful thoughts of their present and future state, calling them, in this solitary instance, "beloved," as if to make amends for the severity of his rebuke, and declaring that he expects to see realized in their experience the better alternative of the foregoing contrast—fruitfulness connected with, nigh to salvation—instead of the cursing and perdition appointed for the land that bears only thorns and thistles.

So the teacher's complaining gives place to the charity

that believeth all things and hopeth all things. It is the way of all New Testament writers, eminently of Paul. How he labours to persuade himself of the better things in regard to unbelieving Israel in that section of his Epistle to the Romans in which he deals with the hard problem, how to reconcile Israel's position as God's elect people with her attitude towards the gospel! Having faced first the dark alternative, that the facts meant the cancelling of the election, and shown that in that case no one was to blame but Israel herself, he boldly declares his belief that the state of matters is not so serious. "I say then, Hath God cast away His people? God forbid." The recurrent phrases, "I say then" and "God forbid," show how hard he finds it to make good this position. But the ingenuity of love discovers a ground of hope even in the very terms in which rejection was threatened, "I will provoke you to jealousy by a no-people"; whence the apostle extracts the theory, that God has temporarily cast away Israel, and called the Gentiles to make the former jealous, and so lead her to value privileges hitherto despised. It is only a new, round-about method of working for Israel's good.

Such was Paul's ground of hope for Hebrew unbelievers. And what is the ground of the hope the writer of our epistle cherishes for Hebrew Christians? It is their Christian work, and more especially the love they have shown to the name of God, and of His Son Jesus, by past and present ministries to the necessities of saints. Verily a good, solid foundation for a judgment of charity and hope! And in adducing it for that purpose, the writer shows himself to be a man thoroughly imbued with the spirit of Christ's teaching. He evidently knows what value the great Master set upon even a cup of cold water given to a disciple in the name of a disciple, and how in the representation of the last judgment He made charity the great, decisive test of character. He hopes that it is well with



these poor Hebrew Christians, in spite of their vacillations in opinion and their hankering after old religious customs, because they have manifested, and are still manifesting, love to the name of Christ by deeds of kindness to Christians afflicted with the common ills of life, or exposed to persecution for the gospel's sake. In cherishing such a hope on such a ground he acted on a sound instinct. Men were still a long way from crucifying Christ afresh who continued to show kind feelings towards His followers. Their hearts were right, though their heads might be confused, and their minds in a state of painful oscillation between the old and the new religions, between the traditions of the synagogue and the simple, spiritual, free, revolutionary principles of the gospel, as preached first by the Lord Jesus and then by His apostles. Had these Hebrews really been apostates, or on the point of becoming such, they would have hated, not loved, their former brethren; they would have addicted themselves to the bad work of persecuting believers in Jesus, rather than to the blessed work of ministering to the necessities of the saints. Renegades are ever the most ruthless persecutors; witness James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews in the reign of Charles II., formerly a Covenanting Presbyterian minister, whose cold-blooded cruelty towards his old fellow religionists horrified even his unscrupulous associates in the bad work of persecution, and brought at length its own penalty in the murder of the apostate by a band of daring men whom his iniquity had driven mad.

Recalling the kindly deeds of his slow-minded pupils, the teacher almost repents of the alarming tone in which he has addressed them, and becomes apologetic, saying in effect: "I do not think so badly of you as to believe that the fearful doom I have depicted will befall you, but I have thought it right to put the dark picture before your eyes, that you might look at it; for I wish to rouse you out of

your torpor, and stir you up to diligence to make your calling and election sure, that your salvation may be a matter of certainty, and not merely of charitable hope" (vers. 11, 12).

Noteworthy in these verses is the individualizing character of the pious solicitude of this man of God for the spiritual wellbeing of the Hebrews. *Every one of you.* The good shepherd goeth after even one straying sheep. The expression may signify that while there was no reason to take a despairing view of the Hebrew Church as a whole, there were some of its members in imminent danger of apostasy.

The teacher desires to see faith and hope in as lively exercise as charity in the characters of these Hebrews. With their love it appears he had no fault to find, but their faith was weak and their hope was dim. Even at the worst, even if they should suffer shipwreck of faith, he trusts that men so kindly affectioned towards Christ's people would get safe to heaven's shore, "some on boards, some on broken pieces of the ship"; but he is not content that they should be saved in this precarious manner. He would have them go into the haven with ship intact, with the rudder of faith in good working condition, and with sails filled with the favouring breeze of the hope of glory.

He further expresses his desire that the Hebrews should become imitators of those who through faith and patience inherit the promises. He has in view doubtless the roll of heroes who have made their lives sublime, and who receive honourable mention in the eleventh chapter. The reference is not merely to the patriarchs, though the mention of Abraham in the next verse might lead us to suppose that they are specially intended, but to all in all ages, living or dead, present or past, who by steadfast faith and firm endurance do make sure the inheritance, and do in a sense possess it even before life's close. What is wished for the Hebrews therefore is, that they may have a faith so clear

that it shall be the substance of things hoped for, the future inheritance in present possession; and that by a great-souled, indomitable patience, proof against all temptation, they may persevere in the faith even to the end, and so obtain the promise, not merely by way of earnest, but in full fruition.

This expression of his *pium desiderium* the writer follows up by a reference to Abraham, as the most signal example of patient, magnanimous faith, and as one whose history served to show how reliable are the promises of God (vers. 13-17). All New Testament writers, Paul, James, our author, utilize the story of the great patriarch of the Jewish race for the purpose of establishing a doctrine or enforcing a moral lesson. Nothing was more likely to touch the Hebrew heart. The part of Abraham's history alluded to is that in which the pathos of his life reaches its climax, the words quoted being those spoken to him by God after his sublime manifestation of implicit obedience and trust in offering up for sacrifice his only son. What God said is not quoted in full, only the kernel of the promise being given, and the Divine eulogy on Abraham's magnanimity being passed over in silence. The point on which stress is laid is the oath accompanying the promise; for the writer's purpose is to make prominent the trustworthiness of the promises, as amply justifying the desiderated "full assurances of hope," not to pass an encomium on Abraham. He does not indeed lose sight of the latter object entirely. The patriarch's patient faith gets honourable mention in ver. 15, where it is said in effect that, having received the word of promise, confirmed by an oath, Abraham persevered in faith, and persevering at length obtained the fulfilment of the promise. Even here, it is to be observed, the leading thought is not Abraham's patience, but the certainty of the promise. The patriarch's patience is referred to only in a participial clause (*οὕτως μακροθυμήσας*); that he obtained



the promise is the main affirmation. And the purpose of that affirmation again is not to assert that Abraham personally entered into full possession of the thing promised. This was that his seed should be multiplied as the stars of heaven, and as the sand of the seashore, and that in his seed all the nations of the earth should eventually be blessed. It was in truth *the* promise of the great Messianic salvation, the object of hope for humanity at large, and for the Hebrew Christians in particular. That promise of course was not fulfilled exhaustively and comprehensively in Abraham's lifetime. Of Abraham, as of all the patriarchs, it was true that he died in faith, not having received the promises, but having only seen them afar off. This is our author's own reflection (xi. 13), and he does not mean to say anything inconsistent therewith here. His aim in the two places is not the same. In the eleventh chapter his object is to extol the faith of the patriarchs; here it is chiefly to extol the reliableness of God's promises, that it may appear that a fully assured hope is justifiable and attainable. Viewed in the light of this purpose, what he says is in effect this: the promise made to Abraham, extravagant as its terms may seem, and however unlikely to be fulfilled, regarded before the event, shall be fulfilled to the letter. Important instalments of fulfilment lie behind us in the history of Israel; there was even an initial fulfilment in Abraham's own lifetime, in the giving back to him of his son Isaac from the dead, in the marriage of Isaac to Rebekah, and in the birth of grand-children through their marriage.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In what sense the statement that Abraham received the promise is to be understood, is a point on which interpreters are not agreed. Bleek understands it as meaning that he obtained the promise itself, but not the thing promised; or the latter only *de jure* (Grotius), not *de facto*. In support of this view he adverts to the fact that the word used to express the idea of obtaining in chap. vi. 15 (*ἐπέτυχεν*) is not the same as in chap. xi. 13, 39 (*προσέδεξάμενοι, ἐκομίσαντο*). Similarly, among recent interpreters, Rendall. The great majority of commentators have found in the words a reference to fulfilment; and it does seem as if the scope of the argument required this. There would not be much

The writer's purpose being to insist on the trustworthiness of God's promises for the strengthening of hope in dejected hearts, he naturally makes the oath accompanying the promise to Abraham the subject of some reflections designed to bring out its significance, proceeding on the assumption that the oath, like the promise, concerned not Abraham only, but all his spiritual seed. That oath is indeed remarkable in many ways, and in a high degree provocative of thought. It is the first instance in Scripture in which God is represented as binding Himself by an oath to the keeping of His word. It is further remarkable as an expression of admiration awakened in the Divine bosom by the spectacle of self-sacrifice presented by the patriarch in offering up his only son Isaac. Looking down thereon God exclaims: "As I live, this is a great, heroic deed; it shall not go unrewarded; out of the son with whom this man is willing to part at the call of duty shall spring a seed multitudinous as the stars or the sand of the seashore, and destined to be a channel of grace and mercy to all the peoples that dwell on the face of the earth."

But it is not in either of these senses that our author wishes to fix the attention of his readers on the oath, but in a third respect; *viz.* as a reliable guarantee of the absolute certainty of the promise to which the oath was attached. To commend it in this view, he enlarges on the oath, exhibiting it particularly on two sides: (1) as a manifestation of *Divine condescension*, in gracious solicitude for man's good, therefore a *moral* argument for the truth of the promise; and (2) as pledging the *Divine nature*, and therefore a *metaphysical* argument for the truth of the promise. The former aspect is suggested by the words, "because He could swear by no greater, He sware by Himself" (ver. 13): That is as much as to say, that if it had been possible for

encouragement to hope in the mere fact of believing men getting promises, if there were not at least partial fulfilments to point to.

God to find any being greater than Himself, of whom He stood in awe, as men stand in awe of Him, He would have been glad to swear by that being, to show to the heirs of the promise the immutability of His counsel, for their encouragement and confirmation. But the Divine condescension is still more strikingly exhibited in the words *ἐμεσίτευσεν ὄρκῳ* (ver. 17), weakly rendered in the Authorized Version "confirmed it by an oath," but which literally signify, "interposed Himself as a middle party or mediator by an oath." The idea is a very bold, but also a very grand one: that God, in taking an oath, made Himself a third party intermediate between God and Abraham. Men, as is remarked in ver. 16, swear by the greater, and so in a sense did God. God swearing became inferior in His condescension to God sworn by: "descended as it were" (to quote Delitzsch) "from His own absolute exaltation, in order, so to speak, to look up to Himself after the manner of men, and take Himself to witness; and so by a gracious condescension confirm the promise for the sake of its inheritors." Thus God, in taking an oath, does a thing analogous to God becoming man. The acts are kindred, being both acts of condescension and love. In these two acts and in covenant-making God stoops down from His majesty to the weakness and want and low estate of man. In taking an oath, He submits to indignity, imposed by man's distrust, and, instead of standing on his character for truthfulness, puts Himself under oath, that there may be an end of gainsaying (*ἀντιλογίας*, ver. 16). In becoming man, God condescends to man's sin, submits to the lot of a sinner, that man may be delivered from the power of evil. In making a covenant, He makes Himself a debtor to His creatures, and gives them a right to claim what is in reality a matter of grace, and not of debt.

The other aspect of the oath is presented in ver. 18. The point here is the utter impossibility of God perjuring



Himself. Apart altogether from God's *love*, it is simply impossible for the Divine Being to make a promise on oath which He does not mean to keep. But it may be asked, What are the two unchangeable (*ἀμεταθέτων*) things? God's oath is one of the things of course, but what is the other? It is the bare *word* of promise without the oath. It is right to count the *word* separately among the immutabilities. By so doing our author does not weaken the argument drawn from the oath, but rather strengthens it. The very stress he lays on the oath requires him to attach not less value to the bare word of God. For if God's word were not immutable, His oath would not be immutable either. Unless His word were as good as an oath, His oath would be worthless. For He has nothing to fear as the penalty of perjury. Men have something to fear, but not God; the only influence that can affect Him is reverence for Himself, and that will influence Him not less when He simply pledges His word than when He seals His word with the solemnity of an oath.

The fitness of God's word, backed by His oath, to encourage even the weakest faith, is strongly asserted by implication in the description of those for whose benefit the whole argument is intended, as persons who have fled as for refuge to lay hold upon the forelying hope. The words suggest the idea of a person fleeing to a sanctuary, and laying hold of the horns of the altar. Or perhaps, as the image of an anchor occurs in the next verse, the writer had in his mind the case of a sailor running his vessel into the most convenient harbour of refuge, to escape the fury of the storm and the danger of shipwreck.

In addition to all that has been said on the oath, it may be remarked that, without doubt, the writer made it the subject of the foregoing reflections, because they well served the purpose of preparing his readers for attaching importance to another oath of God, that sworn in announcing

the introduction of a new order of priesthood. He wished to suggest the thought, that it is always an important occasion when God swears an oath. An oath reveals a great tide of emotion in the Divine heart, which nothing short of an epoch-making event in the history of the world can give rise to. Note well the crises when God plays the part of mediator between Himself and men by oath-taking, and mark their profound significance. In the case of Abraham, the oath expressed the Divine delight in self-sacrifice, and the certainty of ultimate renown and bliss for all who rise to the heroic pitch in faith and patience. They shall be the founders of enduring races, the originators of great beneficent movements for the good of mankind, and their memory shall live while the world lasts. In the case of the Melchisedec priesthood, the oath meant the Divine weariness of a rude Levitical ritual, and the inbringing of a new order that should perfectly realize the ideal, and therefore be eternal. The two events, the giving of the promise to Abraham, and the institution of the Melchisedec priesthood, had, it thus appears, this much in common, that they were both occasions sufficiently important to be worthy of a Divine oath. Had they no other connexion? Was it a mere accident that God took an oath in these two cases, and so tied together by a slight string events otherwise unrelated? This is not the view of the writer of our epistle. The promise to Abraham and his seed—the object of the Christian hope—and the Melchisedec priesthood are in his mind closely related. In referring to the oath sworn to Abraham, he gives a premonitory hint of the intimate connexion between the two things, which is plainly declared in the closing verses of the chapter (19, 20).

These beautiful words form the happy, cheering conclusion of a passage, which as a whole, and especially at its commencement, is of a very stern and sombre character. Here the frown passes away from the teacher's face, and

is replaced by a benignant smile, and his style of writing relaxes from prophetic severity to evangelic geniality and tenderness. While in the early part of this section we were conducted to the edge of a precipice, and bid look down and behold the appalling fate of apostates, or carried away back to the plain of Sodom, and shown there a land rendered sterile for ever by fire and brimstone for the sins of its inhabitants, we are here privileged to witness the pleasing sight of a ship riding safely at anchor, an emblem of the security of a Christian who cherishes the hope of eternal life, and is thereby enabled to hold fast his profession of faith in spite of all the stormy tribulations of time. Then how fitted to reassure the Christian pilgrim on his heavenward way, that view of Jesus gone within the veil as our Forerunner, reminding us of His own words to His disciples on the eve of His passion: "In My Father's house are many mansions; . . . I go to prepare a place for you. And . . . I shall come again, and receive you unto Myself; that where I am, there ye may be also"!

*Which (hope) we have as an anchor of the soul, secure and firm, and entering into the place within the veil.*

The two epithets (*ἀσφαλὴ τε καὶ βεβαίαν*) describe the qualities of a good anchor. Being connected by *τε καὶ* they may be regarded as expressing only a single idea. But we may refer the first epithet to the anchoring ground, as good for anchorage, and the second to the anchor, as one which will keep its hold.

The comparison of hope to an anchor is apt in respect both to its use and to the way in which it is used. The use of an anchor is to keep a ship fixed to one spot, and prevent it from drifting before wind and tide; and it is made available for this purpose by being thrown out of the ship into the sea, that it may sink to the bottom and lay hold of the unseen ground. Even so the function of hope is to keep the soul in peace and safety amid trouble, and it

does this by entering into the unseen future, and laying hold of good not now enjoyed. This is true of hope in general. The peculiarity of Christian hope is, that it finds its anchorage, not in the nearer future lying between the present moment and death, but in the remote future beyond the tomb. Its anchoring ground lies deep beneath the dark waters of time, invisible to sense, existing only for faith.

Assuming that the former of the two epithets by which the anchor is described refers to the anchoring ground, it amounts to a testimony that the Christian hope is objectively true. If it be asked, What is the evidence for such an assertion? to find the answer of the writer we must fall back on the "two immutable things." God's promises and His oaths, and His covenant with men, and the whole history of His dealings with men in the execution of a redemptive purpose, as recorded in the Scriptures—these are the guarantees that we strike the anchor of our eternal hope into a firm, unyielding bottom. If we are to doubt the reality of the thing hoped for, then we must give up the idea of a revelation and all that it implies; for it is not credible that God would act towards men as the Bible represents, if human existence was limited to threescore years and ten. If man's destiny be to "be blown about in desert dust, or sealed within the iron hills," not only is man "a monster then, a dream, a discord," but the faith which revelation inspires, that "God was love indeed, and love creation's final law," is a delusion.

The image of the anchor is in itself very appropriate and pathetic, but the conception of it as entering into the place within the veil, *i.e.* the holy of holies, strikes one at first as artificial and frigid. It seems incongruous to speak of an anchor in connexion with the inner shrine of the tabernacle. Some seek escape from the incongruity by taking the "entering" (*εἰσερχομένην*) as referring, not to the anchor, but to the hope, the figure being dropped at this point.



The truth appears to be, that we have here a combination of two metaphors, with the connecting link suppressed. The full thought is this: Hope is an anchor entering into the eternal, invisible world, like the anchor of a ship entering into the waters, and laying hold of the bottom of the sea; and that eternal world whereof hope lays hold may in turn be likened unto the place within the veil, because it is hid from view, as by a veil suspended before our eyes, to be drawn asunder at the hour of our decease.

The allusion to the holy of holies as an emblem of the eternal world is made, it seems to me, with the purpose of bringing the train of thought back to the old theme. In the long digression into which he has been drawn, the writer has, to use a familiar phrase, gone off the rails, and he employs this expression as a switch to bring the train back to the main line. It is another example of the rhetorical tact by which the whole epistle is so notably distinguished. But the expression is more than a switch: it contributes to the argument, and serves to justify the representation of the anchor of Christian hope as one sure and steadfast. This appears when we reflect what is "the place within the veil." It is the place where are the ark of the covenant, and the mercy-seat, and the cherubim with outstretched wings—which were just Israel's grounds of hope that God would fulfil His promise, and keep His covenant with His people, maintaining them in peace and prosperity in the Promised Land. This the Hebrews well knew, and their friend would have them understand that the new covenant of grace, and the gospel of mercy, and the outstretched wings of redeeming love, in the New Testament holy of holies, are not less reliable grounds of hope for believers in Christ with respect to the "world to come" than was the furniture of the inner shrine of the tabernacle for the people of Israel, with respect to the temporal blessings God had promised them.

And now we come to the crowning thought: *Where, as Forerunner for us, entered Jesus, become, after the order of Melchisedec, our High Priest for ever* (ver. 20). The word *πρόδρομος* is, as Bengel remarks, *verbum valde significans*, though in common with nearly all commentators he fails to perceive, or at least to express in any adequate manner, its significance. It lies really in this, that it expresses an idea entirely new, lying altogether outside the Levitical system. The high priest of Israel did not go into the most holy place as forerunner, but only as the representative of the people. He went into a place whither none might follow him, entering once a year, in the people's stead, not as their pioneer. The glory and privilege of the new Christian era, the peculiar excellence of the perfect religion, is, that Christ, as the High Priest of humanity, goes nowhere where His people cannot follow Him. He is our pioneer, clearing our way. There is no longer any envious veil screening off some specially holy place, and shutting it against us. The veil was the sure sign that the Levitical religion was not the absolute religion, not the *summum bonum*, but only a shadow of good things to come. The absolute religion demands an unrestricted fellowship of the human spirit with a Divine Father, who is not merely in a place technically holy, but wherever there is a contrite, humble, devout worshipper; a Father who dwells in heaven, doubtless, but not in a heaven which He keeps to Himself, but rather in a heaven into which He means to gather together all His children. Not till such unrestricted fellowship has been established has the perfect, perennial religion come. That it has been established, is what the writer of our epistle means to suggest by the use of the term *πρόδρομος* in reference to Jesus as our great High Priest entering into the place within the veil. He means to point out a contrast between the two religions, saying in effect: That which was lacking in the old religion is at length come. Where the

High Priest goeth we may also go, instead of, as of old, standing without, waiting anxiously for the exit of the high priest from that inaccessible, dark, awful, perilous, most holy place beyond the veil. The great thought forms a worthy close to a discourse designed to revive hope in drooping hearts. '

To what extent it served this purpose we know not; possibly the Hebrew Christians failed to perceive the point, and so lost the intended benefit. This certainly has been the case with most commentators; why, I find it hard to understand. How completely the authors of the old English version missed the sense appears from their rendering "whither *the* Forerunner is for us entered, even Jesus," as if the idea of a high priest being a Forerunner were a perfectly familiar one, instead of being a startling, beneficent originality. Familiar to us of course it is, but we must consider what it was to the first readers of the epistle. Some of the most recent commentators fail not less completely, by connecting the idea of forerunner, not with Christ's high-priestly office, but with His function as the Captain of salvation, leading God's people into the Promised Land. Jesus is our Forerunner, not as the Aaron, but as the Joshua of the new era.<sup>1</sup> Thus what the author, as I believe, intended to be a striking contrast becomes a parallel between the two dispensations. Without doubt, the main cause of all this miscarriage is failure to grasp firmly the apologetic character of the epistle, as intended to show the superiority of the Christian religion over the Levitical, and never losing an opportunity of promoting that end. Here surely was an excellent opportunity, a glaring contrast between the two religions offering itself for remark, a contrast in which the advantage was altogether and manifestly on the side of Christianity: the high priest of Israel going within the

<sup>1</sup> So Dr. Edwards and Mr. Rendall.

veil as a substitute, the High Priest of humanity going within the veil as a forerunner. A competent writer of an apologetic work, such as I take the Epistle to the Hebrews to be, could not omit this thought; and if it is to be found anywhere in the epistle, it is here.

Probably a subsidiary misleading influence, preventing expositors from finding the thought referred to in this text, has been the notion that Christ's priestly office did not begin till He entered the heavenly sanctuary. If Jesus became our High Priest only after He had reached the place within the veil, then His function as Forerunner must not be connected with that office, but is to be accounted for in some other way. But are we really required to date the commencement of His priesthood so rigidly from His arrival in heaven? Not certainly by the closing words of the text now under consideration: *having become, or becoming, after the order of Melchisedec, a High Priest for ever*. We may think of Jesus as becoming a High Priest in the very act of entering, becoming Priest by doing a priestly act. On this principle of becoming by doing, we must go back further still for the commencement of His priesthood, and include His death among His priestly functions. He dies as Priest, He enters the heavenly sanctuary as Priest, He takes His seat on the throne as Priest. He does not become a High Priest after His entrance. He only becomes a High Priest *for ever* then. His likeness to Melchisedec lies, not in His being a High Priest, but in the eternal endurance of His priestly office, the imperishable value of His priestly work, whereof His session on the throne is the symbol and evidence.

While the idea of Jesus as Forerunner serves to bring into strong relief the superiority of the Christian religion over the Levitical, yet it does not give adequate expression to the worth of the religion of free access. It makes salvation a thing of the future, an object of hope, the point of view



from which it is regarded in this whole section. This conception of salvation as future is not the exclusive, though it is the predominant view-point of the epistle. In some places the *summum bonum* appears as a present good. The way into the most holy place is already consecrated, and we may boldly come even now into the very presence of God (x. 19-22). We are come unto Mount Zion (xii. 22). The same truth is implied in the exhortation in chap. iv. 16 to come with boldness unto the throne of grace. \* The Christian faith not only has a promise of lordship in the world to come, but possesses that world now. Christianity, in fact, is the future world. This paradox, as Pfleiderer has remarked,<sup>1</sup> expresses in the most pregnant form the peculiar point of view of the epistle, and gives to its teaching a place intermediate between the Jewish-Christian conception, according to which salvation was purely future, and the Johannine, according to which it is, as an ideally perfect thing, present: eternal life, not merely in prospect, but now enjoyed to the full by believers.

A. B. BRUCE.

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## ST. PAUL AND THE GALATIAN JUDAIZERS.

### I.

THE Epistle to the Galatians is the most thoroughly controversial in the New Testament. For it was written at a critical moment with a distinct purpose; and this purpose is apparent throughout the epistle. A current of Jewish prejudice against the Apostle and his teaching was sweeping over the Galatian Churches; and a special effort was required to stem the tide. No means exist outside the epistle for dating this reaction, or discovering any special

<sup>1</sup> *Paulinismus*, pp. 329, 330.

causes for its rise. It must however have been of recent origin, for the Apostle refers to it as a sudden surprise (Gal. i. 6). At his first visit (A.D. 51 or 52) they had welcomed him with enthusiasm, though his detention among them was the involuntary result of illness, and his stay appears to have been brief. Two or three years after he visited the Churches in order (A.D. 54), and confirmed them in the faith (Acts xviii. 23); but no intimation is given of any opposition at that time.<sup>1</sup> But the Galatians were a Celtic people, proverbially restless and excitable in natural disposition.<sup>2</sup> The visits of the Apostle had been too few and transient, either to confirm them thoroughly in the Christian faith, or to establish a lasting personal influence. At the date of this epistle, written about A.D. 57 or 58, rival teachers had so successfully gained their ear, that he found it necessary to vindicate his life and doctrine by a formal defence. The great issue at stake was the freedom of Gentile converts from the obligation of circumcision and the yoke of the law; and he keeps this issue steadily in view. But the conflict was personal as well as doctrinal: his rivals had attacked his apostolic authority and his per-

<sup>1</sup> It is stated in Bishop Lightfoot's *Epistle to the Galatians* (Introduction, p. 25) that cause for uneasiness had even then arisen; but I cannot discover any ground for this assertion. Allusion is twice made in the epistle to previous warnings on this subject (i. 9, v. 21); but the language and context of i. 9 point to recent warnings, and the use of the plural *προειρήκαμεν*, in contrast with the singular *λέγω*, suggests that they were conveyed through ministers, and not by word or letter of the Apostle himself. Moreover in iv. 18-20 he ascribes the present estrangement of his Galatian children directly to his own absence.

<sup>2</sup> The original Galatians were a body of Celtic invaders, and their tribes remained distinct from the surrounding population, under government of their own chieftains, after the Roman conquest of Asia Minor till the time of the Cæsars. Their territory was less extensive than the proconsular province of Galatia constituted by Augustus Cæsar, and did not comprehend the Christian Churches of Derbe and Lystra, Iconium and the Pisidian Antioch. For as St. Luke distinguishes Galatia from Phrygia, Lycaonia, and Pisidia, St. Paul doubtless limits the term in like manner to the Celtic district, the principal cities of which were Ancyra, Pessinus, and Tavium, afterwards well-known Christian Churches. (See Bishop Lightfoot's Introduction to the epistle.)

sonal consistency, as well as his opinions. Accordingly the epistle takes the shape, after the first opening sentences, of a personal narrative, down to ii. 16. Travelling as it does over the most critical events of primitive Church history, and proceeding from the pen of a chief actor in those scenes, this autobiography possesses great historical importance. The account of his two visits to Jerusalem has been repeatedly compared with the parallel record of St. Luke; and some theologians have claimed to discover considerable discrepancy between them. The independence of the two records is indeed conspicuous; but the alleged discrepancy does not in my opinion exist at all in the original language of St. Paul, though some slight traces of it do perhaps appear in our Bible.

I proceed now to examine the portion of the epistle which deals with his life and personal relations to the Judaizing party.

i. 6. Our version expresses surprise that the Galatians were "*so soon removed*," as though the estrangement from the Apostle were already complete, and had taken place very soon after their conversion, whereas the latter event had occurred fully six years before; and the Apostlé now writes in eager haste to counteract the progress of a rapid change of opinion which had only just alarmed him by its suddenness. '*I marvel*,' he writes, '*that ye are so quickly removing from him that called you . . . unto a different gospel*.' Our version misses also the force of ἐν χάριτι Χριστοῦ. Those words prefer his own apostolic claim: 'he had called them in virtue of Christ's grace bestowed upon him.'

i. 7. Our version translates, *which is not another; but there be some . . .* But if ὅ be taken here, as often elsewhere, in an adverbial sense, = *as to which* (compare ii. 10), the language gains greatly in force and clearness, and εἰ μή can then be translated literally, 'unless': '*Whereas there is no oīher gospel, unless there be some that trouble you,*

who have a mind even to pervert the gospel of Christ.' The emphatic protest of the first clause against the possibility of any other gospel than that which he had preached, and the ironical suggestion of the second that there might be if these agitators had their way and introduced a distorted gospel of their own in place of the gospel of Christ, are quite in the spirit of St. Paul.

i. 9. Our version renders προειρήκαμεν *we have said before*, making the word *before* denote past time in contrast to *now* in the subsequent clause. But προλέγειν means *foretell* or *forewarn*, without reference to past time; and καὶ ἄρτι should be joined to it, the comma being placed after those words, as the rhythm of the Greek sentence also suggests. 'As we have forewarned you of late also, so I say again.' The word ἄρτι, when used strictly to denote a point of time, points to the immediate past rather than the present, though it often is used loosely, *e.g.* in the next verse, to comprehend both, in contrast with the future or remote past, and may then be properly rendered *now*. θ. ἄρτι ἐτελεύτησεν means *my daughter died just now* (Matt. ix. 18); ἄρτι ἔλθ. Τιμ., *when Timothy came of late* (1 Thess. iii. 6). So here the Apostle is reminding the Galatians of his recent warnings. They had perhaps been conveyed by the ministers whom he had sent to solicit the alms of the Galatian Churches for their brethren in Judæa (1 Cor. xvi. 1); and these may not improbably have brought back the alarming reports which prompted him to write the epistle.

i. 10. St. Paul is here repeating apparently the actual charges made against him by the Judaizers, and presenting them as matter for inquiry, before proceeding to refute them: "Am I" (as they say) "*now trying to win men rather than God, or seeking to please men?*" The prominence given to ἄρτι first demands attention: his present teaching had been contrasted unfavourably with his former zeal for the law, and his motives for the change had been



impugned. His change of opinions was imputed to an inordinate desire on his part to win converts. For this is the true meaning of *πειθω* in this place: the word "*persuade*" adopted in our version is incorrect, for it implies success, whereas no one can persuade God; the Greek implies simply an effort to win. Again, the emphatic alternative, *do I now persuade men or God?* is out of place: *ἢ* seems to mean *rather than*, as it does in 1 Corinthians xiv. 19, *μᾶλλον* being understood: his enemies charged him with comparative neglect of God's truth, and excessive eagerness to please men. His own language elsewhere, "I became to them that were without law as without law, that I might gain them that were without law," shows how readily his conduct was open to misconstruction of this sort. Adversaries easily misinterpreted his earnest desire to win the Gentiles to Christ; they denounced it as a sacrifice of principle for the sake of pleasing men, and stigmatized his vindication of Christian freedom in regard to Mosaic observance as an unjustifiable concession to Gentile prejudices. The answer to these imputations is given by a sketch of his Christian life from his conversion to his open rebuke of St. Peter's inconsistency at Antioch. But first the special charge of pleasing men is dismissed with scorn: the retort derives much force from the emphatic *still*. This implies that there had been a time when his conduct was really open to such a charge—a time of blind partisanship, when he had been a zealot for the law, as his rivals were now. "If" (he argues) "I were *still* bent on pleasing men, I should have remained a Jew, and not have sacrificed everything for the service of Christ."

i. 14. The language which our version puts into the mouth of St. Paul, "*I profited in the Jews' religion above many mine equals in mine own nation*," betrays a lurking self-satisfaction with his own successful career as a Pharisee quite at variance with the grievous self-reproach which he

expresses elsewhere for having then persecuted and wasted the Church of Christ. Nor would he have designated the Israelite worship of Jehovah as *the Jews' religion*. This is in fact a mistranslation of *Ἰουδαϊσμός*: for *Ἰουδαΐζειν* signifies to "adopt Jewish customs" (see ii. 14), or "side with a Jewish party." The statement here made is that Saul advanced in Jewish partisanship beyond many of his own age, and made himself conspicuous amongst his fellows by a more fiery zeal than others.

i. 18. St. Luke records St. Paul's first visit to Jerusalem after his conversion from the historian's point of view. It is interesting to compare the two accounts. The historian brings out forcibly the isolation of the Apostle, avoided by Christians, while he was hunted for his life by Jews, his danger, and his courage. The autobiography ignores all this; it corrects incidentally one detail in the history by mentioning that the Apostles, to whom Barnabas is said to have introduced him, were in fact only Cephas and James, the rest being probably then absent from Jerusalem; and it informs us of the motive which took him to Jerusalem at that time. This last addition is interesting; for the narrative of St. Luke leaves the reader at a loss to understand why, after his narrow escape from Jewish hatred at Damascus, he ventured into the stronghold of his deadly enemies at Jerusalem. In his circumstances this was the most dangerous place he could go to: and he could not have chosen it without some strong motive. The epistle discloses this: '*I went up . . . to inquire of Cephas.*' The Greek word is *ἰστορησαι*, our version has rendered it *to see Peter*, giving the impression of a personal visit to a friend. But *ἰστορησαι* does not mean *visit*, except in the sense that travellers are said to visit persons or places of special interest for the sake of information. It implies that he wanted to consult Cephas on some particular subject; and the previous context suggests what the subject was on

which he desired to consult him; *viz.* the conduct of his mission to the Gentiles. Now the history entirely explains this earnest desire to take counsel with St. Peter. The enforced flight from Damascus had closed that city against him; he urgently needed Christian advice and co-operation for the continuance of his mission. Now to whom could he turn so naturally at that time as to St. Peter? For he had been the first under the direction of the Spirit to open the door of Christian baptism to the uncircumcised, had successfully defended this new departure when challenged by members of the Church at Jerusalem, and obtained the public recognition by that Church of Gentile Christianity.<sup>1</sup> We can well understand therefore the special desire of St. Paul to consult with him. He obtained through him the advice and recognition which he needed from the brethren, and was by them sent down to Tarsus, whether as the most promising sphere of labour, or because he was more likely to find protection there from relatives and former friends against the malice of Jewish enemies. The next words, *ἐπέμεινα πρὸς αὐτόν*, cannot mean "*I abode with him.*" The preposition naturally expresses the purpose with which he prolonged his stay at Jerusalem fifteen days, in spite of the perils which encompassed him; he did this with a view to consultation with Cephas; "*I tarried to see him,*" is the literal translation of the passage, harmonizing entirely with the narrative of St. Luke, which mentions the difficulty and delay he encountered in gaining the confidence of the Apostles.

ii. 1-10. St. Paul makes no reference here to his second visit to Jerusalem, in company with Barnabas, recorded in

<sup>1</sup> The baptism of Cornelius is mentioned *after* St. Paul's return to Jerusalem in the Acts of the Apostles, because the historian desires to complete the sequel of St. Paul's conversion before he returns to the apostolic labours of St. Peter; but there can scarcely be a doubt that the events recorded in Acts ix. 31-xi. 18 took place during the three years that followed Saul's conversion, and preceded his return to Jerusalem.

Acts xi. 30, xii. 25. Apparently none of the Apostles were then at Jerusalem; and Paul and Barnabas only stayed long enough to deposit in the hands of the elders the alms with which they had been entrusted. There can be no doubt that the visit here recorded was his third, to the meeting at Jerusalem of the council of Apostles and elders; at which he and Barnabas attended as representatives of the Church of Antioch. The proceedings of the apostolic council are related in Acts xv. 1-33. The issue there decided was of vital importance to the Christian Church: for its future independence of Judaism was once more endangered by the persistent demand that Gentile converts should be circumcised, and keep the law. Accordingly the divisions of opinion in the council, and the views of different apostles, have been scanned with attention. The language of St. Paul, as interpreted in our Bible, gives a different impression from that conveyed by the narrative of St. Luke. For the latter represents the Judaizing party as a Pharisaic section of extreme partisans without any leader of eminence in the Church, whose whole strength lay in popular prejudice, and whose opinions sustained an ignominious collapse at the council in consequence of the decisive support given by the leading Apostles to Paul and Barnabas; whereas this epistle, as translated in our Bible, relates first the necessity of private conferences to overcome the hesitation of the leaders of the Church, then a severe struggle for the circumcision of Titus, which was with difficulty resisted, though St. Paul secured in the end the personal support and cordial adhesion of the leading Apostles. Now the language of St. Paul is admitted on all hands to be exceptionally obscure; and I cannot help thinking that this is an entire misconception of his meaning, founded on the mistranslation of certain sentences in these verses.

In ver. 2 the Apostle is in our version made to say, "*I . . . communicated . . . that gospel which I*



preach among the Gentiles, but privately to them which were of reputation, lest by any means I should run, or had run, in vain." Now a doubt at once suggests itself whether this can be a correct rendering of his language: for it is almost incredible that he should either have felt the success of his gospel to depend on private negotiation with men of reputation, or have expressed such an apprehension to the Galatian Judaizers.<sup>1</sup> And this doubt is more than confirmed by an examination of the Greek text. For the rendering here given to τοῖς δοκοῦσιν, *them which were of reputation*, appears to me quite unexampled. Some poetical passages are alleged in favour of this meaning: e.g. Eur., *Hec.* 294, λόγος γὰρ ἔκ τ' ἀδοξούντων ἰὼν κάκ τῶν δοκούντων, but there the context and preceding ἀδοξούντων give it a special meaning; and Eur., *Heracl.* 897, εὐτυχίαν τῶν πάρος οὐ δοκούντων, but there the context readily suggests εὐτυχεῖν as understood after δοκούντων. I know no place where δοκεῖν bears anything like the meaning here ascribed to it.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore the combination of μήπως τρέχω with the narrative tense ἀνεθέμην is contrary to the principles of Greek construction. Now all these difficulties disappear at once, if μήπως be taken in connexion with δοκοῦσιν instead of ἀνεθέμην. The present participle is naturally followed by the present indicative τρέχω, and the conjunction μήπως retains its habitual sense, and expresses the actual apprehensions of the Apostle's failure, felt not by himself, but by the Judaizing party in the Church. The private conferences

<sup>1</sup> This apprehension of possible failure is even more distinctly expressed in the Greek phrase μήπως τρέχω ἢ ἔδραμον than in the corresponding English; for the force of μή and μήπως followed by an indicative is as clearly expressive of an actual apprehension on his own part in the language of St. Paul as in other Greek writers (Rom. xi. 21, Gal. iv. 11, 1 Thess. iii. 5). Attempts have been made to evade the natural force of the words (*Winer*, § lvi.), but with indifferent success.

<sup>2</sup> It is clearly an error to quote Herodian vi. 1 in support of such a translation; for the meaning of τ. δοκούντας καὶ ἡλικία σεμνοτάτους καὶ βίῃ σωφρονεσ-τάτους ἑκατάδεκα is *the sixteen who seemed (to the imperial ladies) at once most venerable in age and most respectable in life.*

are thus no longer presented as negotiations with "*men of reputation*," in the Church, but in a truer light as attempts to convince prejudiced opponents. I propose then to translate as follows: "*I . . . communicated unto them that gospel which I preach among the Gentiles, but privately to those who were thinking that possibly I was running, or had run, in vain.*" The word *δοκεῖν*, followed by an infinitive or by *ὅτι*, often means *think* in the Greek Testament, and it seems to me naturally to acquire a tone of suspicious apprehension from the following *μήπως*, and become expressive of doubt and fear, though I am not prepared to adduce other instances of an exactly similar use. It will be seen however presently that *δοκεῖν* recurs with a kindred sense in ver. 6. In both cases it aptly describes the hesitating attitude of unreasonable prejudice or honest doubt with which many, possibly the larger number, of the Jewish converts regarded the disuse of circumcision and the latitude allowed to Gentile converts.

ii. 3. A great deal has been written about the struggle that took place over the position of the Gentile convert Titus, who accompanied St. Paul to Jerusalem. Some have even suggested that Titus for peace' sake actually submitted to circumcision, though not acknowledging any absolute obligation. This suggestion ignores the whole history of the crisis, in which the liberty of Gentile converts was but weakly assailed and triumphantly maintained; it ignores also the order of the Greek text, which must have run *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ἡναγκάσθη Τίτος . . .* if stress had been laid on Titus' submission not being compulsory. It is indeed said with truth that the verse implies a struggle and an attempt to enforce the circumcision of Titus. But the words *Ἑλλην ὢν* show distinctly when and how that struggle took place; for the name of *Ἑλλην* is not applied in the New Testament to baptized Christians but to Gentiles. It was therefore not at Jerusalem, but years before,

when the Gentile Titus was converted to Christianity and sought for Christian baptism, that a debate had arisen whether he should first be circumcised. As St. Paul speaks of him elsewhere as his true child (Tit. i. 4), we may conclude that he had himself converted Titus, and had taken a principal part in resisting this pressure and admitting Titus to baptism, like Cornelius and his friends, without circumcision. Accordingly I translate this verse, '*Nevertheless even Titus, who was with me, had<sup>1</sup> not, though a Greek, been compelled to be circumcised.*' The Apostle marks by this verse the limits of his concession to Judaizers at Jerusalem: he had consented to debate the question in public and in private, but he had taken a Gentile convert, who had never been circumcised, as his special minister and companion to Jerusalem.

ii. 4. The next verse proceeds to explain his motive in these public and private conferences. '*But it was because of the false brethren . . . that I did this.*' No verb is expressed, nor do the subsequent relative clauses, or the parenthetical reference to past history in ver. 3, suggest one; it is natural therefore to connect the verse with the previous verb ἀνεθέμην in ver. 2. The delegation of Paul and Barnabas is in like manner attributed in Acts xv. i. 2 to the interference of Pharisaic partisans from Judæa.<sup>2</sup>

ii. 6. In ver. 6 we meet again with οἱ δοκοῦντες, followed by εἶναι τι, and our version translates, *those who seemed to be somewhat*, making εἶναι τι equivalent to τι εἶναι. But it is well known that τις, τι cannot have this emphatic meaning *a somebody*, or *somewhat*, i.e. some great one, unless stress be laid on the enclitic by position or otherwise. Hence δοκεῖ τις (τι) εἶναι derives its whole force from the

<sup>1</sup> The Greek language would naturally use the aorist here, the English the pluperfect.

<sup>2</sup> By πηρεισάκτους and πηρεισήλθον is intimated apparently that they had crept into the Church by a side door, being Pharisees at heart and not true Christians.

peculiar position of *τις* (*τι*), which intimates that the person in question had some special dignity and importance (either in his own mind or that of others), and thought a good deal of himself or was so thought of by others. But when *τι* follows *εἶναι*, as here, the phrase has quite a different meaning. Plato, for instance, speaks of the worthlessness of many false witnesses against a man who is really innocent, *καὶ δοκούντων εἶναι τι*, *even though they fancy there is something in the charge*, and are not guilty of wilful falsehood (*Gorg.* 472 A). Here then *τῶν δοκούντων εἶναι τι* describes the men who fancied there was something in these doubts about the gospel which Paul preached. They are described farther on as *οἱ δοκοῦντες*, *the men who had thoughts*; and the word exactly describes the vague dissatisfaction which existed in the Church of Jerusalem after the admission of Gentiles to baptism had cut away all solid ground for argument from under the advocates of circumcision. The phrase recurs in Galatians vi. 3; its sense in that passage will be examined hereafter. Gamaliel also in Acts v. 36 speaks of Theudas as *λέγων εἶναι τινα ἑαυτόν*: but this does not mean that Theudas “boasted” himself to be somebody, but that he called himself somebody, *i.e.* pretended to be some prophet or other; and *τινα* expresses Gamaliel’s contemptuous indifference what name he had assumed.

After this fresh reference to the unbelieving doubts which he encountered at Jerusalem, the Apostle interrupts his sentence to declare his utter indifference *what manner of men they were* who thus doubted, and by *ποτε* he expresses his amazement that there could be any Christians who still doubted the success of the gospel among the Gentiles. He further repudiates the idea of yielding to personal authority; it is probable therefore that the Galatian Judaizers had appealed to the authority of some members of the Church of Jerusalem against the Apostle. After this parenthesis



he proceeds to finish the sentence which he had begun, but in a new shape: '*to me I say these men who had thoughts made no further communication.*' This seems the obvious meaning of προσανέθεντο following ἀνεθέμην in ver. 2. So we are told in the Acts that St. Paul laid his case before the brethren at Jerusalem; and there ensued much questioning (Acts xv. 7, ζητήσεως, not *disputing* as in our version): but the opposition were silenced: they had no real answer to make, but buried their doubts in silence.<sup>1</sup> This last clause of ver. 6 contains, in fact, the conclusion of the first, expressed in different words. Instead of saying that *from those who thought there was something amiss there came no further communication*, he alters the sentence so as to insert ἐμοί with emphasis: *to me I say they made no further communication.*

ii. 7, 8. The next two verses describe the behaviour of the three leading Apostles, James, Cephas, and John, on the same occasion. Their feeling was the very reverse of this half-hearted spirit of doubt; and their conduct is accordingly introduced by the opening words ἀλλὰ τοῦναντίον, in order to express an emphatic contrast to the preceding picture. They welcomed with enthusiasm the tidings of St. Paul's successful preaching among the uncircumcised: this abundant blessing of God upon His work was to them an evident token of a Divine appointment; they saw that God had chosen him for this special ministry; they recognised the grace bestowed upon him, and in the fulness of Christian fellowship bid him God-speed upon his mission to the Gentiles as his own proper field of work. These Apostles are described as *the men who are thought to be pillars of the Church*, evidently by way of contrast with

<sup>1</sup> προσανέθεμην in i. 16 has a similar meaning: '*When it pleased God to reveal His Son in me, . . . I made no further reference to flesh and blood.*' He intimates that he did not appeal from God to man, but communed with God and himself.

the previous δοκοῦντες, the men who had thoughts of their own.<sup>1</sup>

When once the correct translation of δοκεῖν is adopted, it becomes impossible to confound the temper of the Apostles with that of the opponents of St. Paul. The account here given of their sentiments and conduct corresponds exactly to the report made of their language in Acts xv. 13-29. While suggesting a consideration for the Jewish section of the Church which St. Paul himself constantly advocated, they cordially approved his principles, and rejoiced at the success of his labours. It is true indeed that this mutual agreement between the Apostles to divide their spheres of labour produced a subsequent tendency amidst the partisans of circumcision to set up the authority of St. Peter against St. Paul: some said, "*I am of Cephas*" (1 Cor. i. 12). Even the Apostles themselves had their sympathies gradually drawn by it in opposite directions: St. Peter was tempted at Antioch thoughtlessly to wound the feelings of uncircumcised Christians; St. Paul ignored the decision of the apostolic council about eating meats offered to idols in his directions to Gentile Christians (Rom. xiv. 3; 1 Cor. x. 25-27). But this epistle agrees with the Acts in describing the perfect harmony of the two Apostles up to this time: the advocates of Gentile liberty could hitherto appeal with confidence to the example of St. Peter as supporting their views against the Pharisaic party; the Churches of Jerusalem and of Antioch could rejoice together over the unbroken unity of the Christian Church.

F. RENDALL.

<sup>1</sup> The fourfold repetition of δοκεῖν suggests a strong probability that there is an intentional play upon the word in this place. One body *had thoughts of their own* about St. Paul's preaching; the others *were thought to be pillars of the Church*. The two sections however are not identified, but contrasted with each other.

PROFESSOR MARCUS DODS.

You have only to look at Dr. Dods' face to see that he is not the kind of man who likes to sit for his portrait. His frame has the build and strength of an oak, but the nature is shade-loving as the maiden-hair. Yet his fame this month is on every tongue in connexion with an event which has a wider significance than the personal honour to him; and though he shall *not* sit for his portrait, the few things which his literary friends in THE EXPOSITOR have almost the right to know shall be briefly told.

Quarter of a century ago, in reviewing his first original book, *The Prayer that Teaches to Pray*, a reviewer apologised for one who bore a name so "antique, Roman, and recognisable" venturing into a field where his father, Marcus Dods the elder, was widely known and honoured, and held that it bound over the son "continually to emulate one who dedicated the highest powers to the highest purposes."

"A MAN OF NOBLE POWERS  
NOBLY USED  
IN WHOM MEMORY AND JUDGMENT,  
VIGOUR AND GENTLENESS,  
GRAVITY AND WIT,  
EACH SINGLY EXCELLENT,  
WERE ALL HAPPILY COMBINED  
AND EVER DEVOTED  
WITH EQUAL PROMPTITUDE AND PERSEVERANCE  
TO THE LABOURS OF CHRISTIAN GODLINESS  
AND THE DEEDS OF HUMAN KINDNESS."

So begins the epitaph—one of the noblest in the English tongue—hidden among the Northumbrian hills, which recalls to the present generation the author of *The Incarnation of the Word*, and reveals the impress and quality of character handed down by a mysterious, and in this case unerring, heredity to the subject of this note. Even to the

detailed features of his ministry, the son seems but to have reproduced the minister of Belford's life, for as we read on we learn how—

“THE DELIGHT OF HIS HOUSEHOLD,  
THE FATHER OF HIS FLOCK,  
THE HELPER OF THE POOR.  
HE CAPTIVATED HIS FRIENDS BY HIS RICH CONVERSE  
AND EDIFIED THE CHURCH  
BY HIS LEARNED AND ELOQUENT PEN.”

And, still more prophetic, how this best of ministers also lived

“TO ADVANCE AND DEFEND.”

On the death of his father, which occurred when he was four years old, Dr. Dods' mother exchanged the Belford manse for a home in Edinburgh, the family living, after the first year or two, in the well-known house built by Allan Ramsay on the top of the Castle Rock. Inconsistent with the traditions of the Gentle Shepherd, this poet's bower had for pleasure-ground the beetling precipices of the Castle, and the perilous playground was fully taken advantage of by Marcus and his companions, and became the scene of many an escapade. Dr. Dods recalls these early days now with infinite delight, for they were spent just as boys should spend them, with much exercise of manliness and muscle and not too excessive anxiety over Ovid and Euclid. On leaving the Academy, the boy was entrusted by his mother to the friendly manager of one of the Edinburgh banks; but as she secretly cherished the wish that her son should one day enter the profession of his father, she succeeded in arranging that he should be allowed to leave the bank if necessary without completing the usual term of apprenticeship. On the expiry of the second year, though he “never thought himself good enough” to be a minister, the lad allowed himself to be enrolled at the University of



Edinburgh; and in spite of the long interruption to his studies, passed out of it in the usual course of four years with an honourable degree.

About this time the scholarly tendencies inherited from his father began to gain sway over his mind, and henceforth it was always as the scholar that he was marked off from his fellow students. So great an ascendancy indeed did the intellectual habit attain in his nature, that when, four years later, he emerged from the prolonged theological course required for the Presbyterian ministry, it became a problem with his friends whether a man of his great learning and grave and silent mood would readily gain that popular recognition which is essential to secure a place in a Church where vacant charges are filled by the vote of the people. This fear unfortunately was too well founded. It has been a rebuke to the Church, and a solace to many an unhappy "probationer" since, that a man like Dr. Marcus Dods should have begged at the door of Churches, throughout the length and breadth of Scotland, for six long years without finding a people to discover his worth. The inner history, the hopes and fears, the searching discipline, of these years we leave to be imagined. Twenty-three distinct chances of more or less attractive charges were within his reach, and twenty-three times he lost. On many of these occasions his name was among the two or three highest candidates, and on nearly all of them a few men of judgment and insight pressed his claims on their fellow members with real enthusiasm; but the rank and file of the congregation never saw past a massiveness of thought which they mistook for heaviness, or a sustained momentum of appeal dependent on the very truth itself, which they construed into passionlessness and indifference. It is a superfluous comment upon this early neglect to add that, though Dr. Dods' pulpit style and delivery have changed in no essential respect with time, he has lived to be re-

garded by many competent judges as the very foremost preacher in his Church.

The characteristics of Dr. Dods' preaching, nevertheless, are not of the popular order, and to himself it has always been the mystery, not why he should have remained so long in obscurity, but why any average congregation should have at last run the risk of calling him. When it is remembered that in the eyes of Presbyterian Christendom a chronic probationer is the meanest of created things; when it is understood that his worn bag with its two "dried tongues" is the jest even of the railway porters, that his successive failures are known to every beadle in the land, that as the churchless years go by he becomes the shunned of sessions, the despised of presbyteries, the despair of ecclesiastics, one is lost in admiration at the audacity and faith of Renfield Church, Glasgow, in taking to its large arms the disheartened residuum of three and twenty vacancies.

Great was its discernment and great its reward. His first and only charge, he has remained loyal to it for quarter of a century; and though preferment of the most tempting kind has repeatedly and urgently been offered to him, he has held to the people who first recognised his worth, and lavished upon them the whole fruits of his life. No pastor and people were ever more closely or happily welded together than Dr. Dods to his congregation at Renfield; and the magnificent testimonial given him two months ago on the celebration of his semi-jubilee was the expression of an admiration and a friendship which have never been broken for an hour. What to Glasgow at large the Renfield pulpit has been during that long period it is hard to exaggerate. Men knew that, with whatever sufficiency or insufficiency of knowledge and of insight the gospel of Christ was being proclaimed in the land, there from Sunday to Sunday stood and spoke a man who knew Christianity in all its length and breadth, who faced its deepest problems without fear,

who evaded no difficulty, who kept nothing back, yet whose faith was positive, whose voice was certain, whose creed was weighted with realities and verities, and whose message came home to all honest hearts with a practical effect most irresistible and solemn. The mere fact of such a preacher doing such work was a tower of strength to the community. This preacher spake with authority, because he spake what he was daily finding out for himself. Seekers after truth discovered that here was one whose method they could respect, whose moral and intellectual instrument could be relied upon, who founded truth upon the nature of things, who *must* therefore become their teacher and their prophet, for he satisfied in rational ways their intellectual needs, and fed their spiritual hunger with bread which really nourished them.

The key-note of Dr. Dods' preaching is its reality. What he said in effect to his congregation in his first sermon has remained his ideal throughout: "You all know the truth from your infancy. You do not feel it. The work of the pulpit is to make it real to you." To make it real, Dr. Dods uses no other weapon than the truth itself. Artifice he has none; rhetoric would spoil the kind of work he does; eloquence, in the ordinary sense, is without his reach; even literary embellishment and ornament, though within his reach as within the reach of few men, he will not use unless he cannot help it. He stands squarely in the pulpit, without either visible motion or emotion, reads his sermon from start to finish without a pause, begins without awakening any sense of expectation, gives no hint throughout of either discovery or originality, however much the discourse may teem with both, passes at a pace which never changes, in a voice without passion, or pathos, or cadence, or climax, through each of the half-dozen massive paragraphs of which every sermon is composed, and finishes bluntly when the last thing has been said, as if he were now

well out of it for the week. But on thinking it over when you go home, you perceive that the after result is almost in proportion to the unconsciousness of the effect at the time. You know exactly why the sermon stopped just then: there was nothing more to be said, the proof was final. You perceive why the great omission, which annoyed you at the time, was made: the thing you waited for was not in the text. You understand why one position was hopelessly irreconcilable with another position you held when you entered the church: because that other position was not true. You do not question now that it was not true, you *see* it to be untrue. You discover easily why the appeal did not move you more. You have been accustomed to the sounds of passion vibrating in the chords of another's soul. Now your own soul seethes and trembles. These effects are not the work of a man. They are the operations of the Spirit of truth. You know at last why the man was so hidden, why he had no cunning phrases, why beautiful words do not linger in your memory, why a preacher so impersonal, and to whom you were so impersonal, a preacher so wholly uninterested in you, so innocent himself of taking you by the throat, has yet taken his subject by the throat and planted it down before your inmost being, so that you cannot be rid of it. You know that you have heard no brilliant or awakening oratory, but you feel that you have been searched and overawed, that unseen realities have looked you in the eyes, and asked you questions, and made you a more humble and a more obedient man.

This is Dr. Dods as a preacher. As an expositor or lecturer his strength lies in an extraordinary fidelity to the theme, text, or object in hand. To the uninitiated this seems at first an almost narrowing fidelity; yet, as you soon discover, it is not determined by ignorance of the range of his subject, but depends on the very exactness of his knowledge of it, and of all parallel fields. Without



ever turning into them, you feel as you go along that he has been down every difficulty along the road, has heard all possible suggestions, been tempted by all available compromises, knows all that the guidebooks have said and that all previous travellers have seen and heard. His expository work hitherto has been obscured by the homiletical necessities of his ministry, but in the chair of New Testament exegesis to which he has just been called his great analytical gift and his exceptional knowledge of the literature and languages of the Bible will find their fitting sphere.

The evidence that reality and a certain intellectual honesty and fidelity have been the characteristics of Dr. Dods' public work is manifested, among other things, by two widely different circumstances—the success of his children's sermons, and the charges of heresy which from time to time have fallen upon him. One cannot talk to children without being real; and one cannot be called a heretic without being honest. As to the first, Dr. Dods' monthly talks to children were perhaps the most prominent, and certainly the most delightful, feature of his later ministry; and as for the second, but that there is so little in it, one would pass it over in silence. On three distinct occasions the cry of heretic has been raised against Dr. Dods. Whether just or unjust, this is never a comfortable thing; and though such charges must be sometimes necessary, both for the relief of conscience and the protection of truth, it is surely one of the cruellest features of the strained theological situation, not only that a public man takes his life in his hands every time he opens his lips, but that he is liable to have his influence marred and his spirit troubled for years by any spark of suspicion regarding him that may be idly dropped on the combustible elements of religious intolerance. It is a warning, to those at least who judge without knowledge and attack without charity, that nothing has been secured by any of the onslaughts

upon Dr. Dods, except the stirring up of bitterness in the Church, the further emphasis and dissemination of the truths attacked, and the wounding of a spirit which has met even the meanest of its enemies without impatience, anger, or disrespect. The first and most cruel blow fell when the needy probationer, after years of disappointed hopes, was on the very eve of settlement in Glasgow. The presbytery met in Renfield Church to moderate in his call, when a member of the congregation "rose and referred to a rumour which had come from Edinburgh of Mr. Dods being unsound on the Sabbath question." On the ground of this mere "rumour," though it was proved at the time to be absolutely baseless, the young minister in the eyes of part of the community was suffered to begin his life-work under reproach and cloud. Several years later the formal charge against him was of rationalistic views on the subject of inspiration, and this was disposed of in his favour by the General Assembly. Revived again in connection with the now famous paper read before the Pan-Presbyterian Council in London, the same charge formed the basis of a determined opposition on the part of some to his recent election to the Edinburgh chair. The view current even among many of Dr. Dods' friends and apologists with regard to this latest "heresy" is, that, though based on truth, and possibly capable of harmless explanation, his statements to the London Council were hasty, rash, and injudicious. But it is idle for us to seek to shelter him under any such plea. The views expressed in London, so far from being hasty and rash, embodied the most calm and serious convictions of his life. In uttering them, he followed the usual canon of his intellect, and stated them with rigid nakedness and impartiality, scorning—as speaking to a professional audience, he deemed it right to do—collateral confessions of his faith, and dispensing with those qualifications which he would have

introduced in addressing a more popular assembly. But to explain away his clearly defined position with regard to inspiration by suggestions of crudeness, rashness, or haste, is wholly to misunderstand the man, and to minimise a truth which it has been one of his life-aims to investigate, to prove, and to press home to his generation.

That he has succeeded in this attempt, after the remarkable scene in the General Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland on the 28th of last May, there can remain no doubt whatever. The battle that was then fought was the battle of inspiration: the battle of an untenable and even mischievous and doubt-provoking dogma, as opposed to a theory consistent at once with the absolute sacredness and inviolable inspiration of the Word of God and with all His methods of revealing Himself to man. And when two hundred ministers and one hundred and eighty-three elders affirmed the vote which placed Dr. Dods in the professor's chair, it was declared that henceforth his view of this cardinal doctrine should not only be allowed in the Church but taught. Dr. Dods himself, wandering among the Swiss Alps, and ignorant even that that was the day of election, had he been present to witness the event, would have felt it not the least reward of his life to discover the share he had unconsciously taken in effecting the greatest theological revolution in his Church's history. For while part of that success was due to his personality, by far the greater part must be assigned to the quiet leaven of his teaching, gradually working through sermons and books and men, and changing, to a degree anticipated by no one, the theological thought and temper of his Church. Many others, of course, and by similar methods, contributed to the theological result; but as circumstances gave it to him to lead his party to victory, they will continue to look to him to help them to use it wisely, and, without exultation or haste, to press onward to all needed progress.

It were an entire mistake however to gather that Dr. Dods' life has been a controversial one. On the contrary, it has been almost wholly spent in the undisturbed routine of the ministry, and in the seclusion of literary and family life. Taking his part in the philanthropies and institutions of his city, building a mission church, teaching his Bible-classes, keeping up his prayer-meeting, preaching anniversary sermons—these and his pulpit preparation make up the real sum of his twenty-five years' life in Glasgow. Of the wider ministry of his books there remains scarcely room to speak. But to omit the literary reference in Dr. Dods' case would be to ignore at least one half of his life's interest. The love of literature has been the one great passion of his life. All books, and all about books: reading books, and buying books, and writing books, and reviewing books, and editing books—these are to him meat and drink. The prodigality of Dr. Dods' contributions to literature is seldom realized. He has always been writing books, and he always will be writing books. It is in the family, and he cannot help it. Both his sisters—one, Marcia, the authoress of *Molly Dent*; the other, Mrs. Wilson, of Glenluce, the writer of many able articles, and translator of Tissot's *Switzerland*—caught the same infection from their father, and, fortunately for the world, it seems an incurable disease. Charles Wesley complains in his diary that he fell from his horse and was sore injured, "which prevented me writing hymns *till next day*." One is alarmed to think of the consequences to Dr. Dods if he were denied his favourite blue-grey quarto and broad-nibbed pen for two successive mornings. Before he was well out of college his translation of Augustine appeared, and shortly afterward, unable to contain himself even till he got a Church to lend a fulcrum to his authorship, the book on the Lord's Prayer was given to the press. Volume after volume on Old and New Testament subjects followed



with a rapidity almost indecent had the work not been so good, until up to the present time Dr. Dods stands sponsor to eleven original books, most of which have run through several editions, has edited no fewer than eight and fifty volumes, and contributed articles, lectures, and reviews in endless numbers, and on every variety of subject, to every variety of magazine. With the possible exception of *Mohammed*, *Buddha*, and *Christ*, the limitations of his Glasgow pulpit determined the treatment and theme of these literary achievements; for it was with him the strictest matter of conscience to reserve his whole strength for his people, and devote to the wider public only what after fruits of it remained. Notwithstanding this devotion to literature, Dr. Dods is in no sense a bookworm. He loves books, but he loves men more. He knows books, but he knows men better. A boy with his boys, a young man with young men, interested in everything natural and real; much contact with life has preserved his mind from the perils of the scholar, and safeguarded his ministry from unpracticalness in any form. The world to him is not a place to think in, but a place to live in, a place very much to live in. Hence all his interests are human at bottom, and all his thought and work are dedicated to the service of man.

Those who wish to discover further the causes of Dr. Dods' success, and the type of his ideals, will find them partly disclosed in the only autobiographical fragment he has ever given us, the chapter from his pen in "Books which have Influenced Me." What he owes to Foster and Browning and Faber he there records with ingenuous gratitude. But he does not tell us what of that success is due to mere perseverance, to the ingrained habit of hard, conscientious, and systematic work. How much his influence has been recruited from his own rich humanity, how greatly his strength is derived from sheer good sense and sanity of judgment, his insight from simplicity of

character and singleness of aim, can only be understood by those who know the man. What subtler qualities, also, have gone to the making of his large and child-like nature, it is not for us here to ask. If the impression has been gained that Dr. Dods' is merely a rational mind, or that he is mainly what is known as an "intellectual preacher," we have omitted to state the one thing regarding him that ought to be said. In the profoundest sense Dr. Dods is a spiritual teacher, in the highest degree a moral force. What his people will remember, what his children inherit, his students bless him for, will be the impression he leaves with them of the tremendous reality of the spiritual life, the grandeur and inexhaustible glory of Christianity, the necessity and the urgency of consecrated service, the stimulus to holy living to be found, and to be found alone, in personal contact with Christ, crucified and risen. "He whose memory," to recall words spoken by him to his people which better than any others contain his secret, "He whose memory is haunted by a dying Redeemer, by the thought of One whose love found its most appropriate and practical result in dying for him, is prevented from much sin, and finds in that love the spring of eternal life, that which his soul in deep privacy of his most sacred thoughts can feed upon with joy, that which he builds himself round and broods over as his inalienable possession."

HENRY DRUMMOND.

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MR. GEORGE ADAM SMITH'S "BOOK OF  
ISAIAH."<sup>1</sup>

VOL. I. ISAIAH I.—XXXIX.

WITHOUT having the honour to know the author and whether he is old or young, I can say of his book, that it is both old and young. It is like an amalgam, in which the old faith like the silver gives it stability, and in which the modern science, like the alloy, gives it mobility.

His standpoint in almost all critical questions on Isaiah is on the side of the modern critic, and his principal leaders are not unjustly the great Old Testament scholars Cheyne and Driver. He follows the former even in the doubt which he expresses regarding the authenticity of the prophecy xxxix. 5-7. And why? "Because"—as he says, p. 202—"we cannot reconcile what Isaiah says of a Babylonian captivity with his intimation of the immediate destruction of Babylon, which has come down to us in chap. xxi. 1-10." But if the earlier prophecy regarding Babylon (xiii. 2 to xiv. 23) be not by the old Isaiah, neither can the shorter prophecy in chap. xxi. be his work. In the second prophecy, as also in the first, the Medes are named as the conquerors of Babylon. These Medes along with the Elamites are said to have formed a contingent of Sargon's army—a thing historically impossible. The Medes and Elamites were the allies of the Babylonian Merodach, and not of the Assyrian Sargon. The doubt expressed concerning the prophecy xxxix. 5-7 rests on a *circulus vitiosus*.

The author pays tribute to the modern denying propensity also, in affirming, p. 140, "that it is inconceivable that if Isaiah, the prophet of the unity of God, had at any time a

<sup>1</sup> *The Book of Isaiah*, vol. i. By Rev. George Adam Smith, M.A. ("The Expositor's Bible." Edited by Rev. W. Robertson Nicoll, M.A.) Hodder and Stoughton.

second Divine Person in his hope, he should afterwards have remained so silent about Him." Nevertheless, it is quite impossible that the name *El gibbor* (Mighty God) as name of the Messiah in chap. ix. 5 can have any other meaning than in chap. x. 21. But are we compelled to believe that Isaiah had the same clearly defined idea of God which is expressed in the trinitarian creed? The name, Mighty God, denotes the indwelling of God in the second David, just as He was present in His Angel; and accordingly the prophet of the unity of God (but not in a Mohammadan sense) says in chap. x. 21 that Israel shall be converted to *God in Christ*.

But I have undertaken this review, not to blame, but to praise. I esteem it highly that this modern commentator is not ashamed to confess in his book (p. 136) that "we firmly hold that Jesus Christ was God." And that he should conclude his book with an ardent prayer to God (p. 452) is like a miracle in our times. The whole tone of his work shows that the word of prophecy is valued by him as the word of God. It is a grand practical commentary on the first half of the book of Isaiah, resting on accurate scientific inquiry. The author is not content with drawing from the prophetic sermons merely moral truisms; but he draws thence deep and sublime meditations on the duties and course of social and political life. His chief thought, in which we sympathise, is, that the aim of the history of man is his redemption, and by it the doing away also of the curse of conflict and distrust between man and his fellow creatures. The parts of the book which speak of the redemption of the natural world (pp. 188-194, 419) are among the most beautiful. The whole is written in a magnificent style, and interwoven with striking illustrations from ancient and modern literature.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

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## BREVIA.

**The Late Rev. W. H. Simcox.**—It is with deep regret that we record the early death of Rev. W. H. Simcox, a valued contributor to *THE EXPOSITOR*, and one of the most promising New Testament scholars in England. At the age of fourteen Mr. Simcox got a scholarship at Marlborough. After the examination, the headmaster, Dr. Cotton, said he had never met a boy with such a knowledge of Holy Scripture. He belonged to perhaps the most brilliant generation of Marlburians, that which enjoyed the teaching both of Cotton and Bradley, though he came near the end of it. He was elected to Balliol College with Sir Matthew Ridley the year after Ilbert and Papillon, when he was thought too young to go into residence. Though his health from the beginning gave cause for alarm, and interrupted his residence, he took a first at the end of three years from his matriculation, and his university success was only second to that of his brother, Mr. G. A. Simcox. He owed much, not only to the teaching, but also to the tender care of the present Master of Balliol, who nursed him in his own room for weeks together. Before he came to Oxford the books which influenced him most were *In Memoriam* and the works of Ruskin. At Oxford he early adopted the views of the "Catholic school," though it was not till after his degree that he came under the personal influence of Dr. Pusey, who thought very highly of some work which he did for him in revising the translation of *St. Chrysostom on the Romans*, and in translating into Latin the preface to one of his son's editions of *St. Cyril*.

Mr. Simcox accepted the college livings first of Weyhill, Andover, and then of Harlaxton, Grantham. In both of these places his ministrations were greatly valued; his preaching at its best presented a rare union of depth, refinement, and simplicity; and his services to the sick were unceasing. In Weyhill, and still more in Harlaxton, he did much to improve his schools. He was also interested in the Church of England Temperance Society, and regretted that he was obliged to withdraw from the abstaining section. Notwithstanding delicate health, he was able to do much important literary work. To the *Academy*, from the beginning of its existence, he contributed criticisms—in not a few instances both brilliant and discerning. In 1880, he delivered a course of lectures in Winchester

Cathedral, on the history of the early Christian Church which were published in the following year. They are remarkable for freshness, vivacity, and suggestiveness. To the *English Historical Review* he contributed an important paper on King Alfred, and the imaginative aspects of that subject inspired him with much picturesque and vigorous verse. It is hoped that it may be possible to publish a selection from his sermons and poems. He has left a commentary on Revelation in the hands of the editor of the *Cambridge Bible for Schools*, and had prepared for publication a grammar of New Testament Greek for the "Theological Educator."

Mr. Simcox's personal character,—his conscientiousness, care for others, sobriety of judgment, and quietly resolute courage,—made a deep impression on those who knew him; and his death is lamented as a sore loss, both on public and private grounds, by many of the foremost men in the Church of England.

EDITOR.

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## STUDIES IN PRACTICAL EXEGESIS.

### III.

#### PSALM VIII.

ONE can perfectly sympathise with that ancient scribe who gave the heading to this psalm which assigns it to David. Has not its poetry a clear mark of an altogether exceptional genius? If the scribe could have compared this psalm with contemporary songs, oriental or Greek, how he would have been struck by its moral superiority! In all ages, indeed, it has been difficult to infuse a moral meaning into a poem without spoiling it. But *our* poet, aided by that most delicate of artists, the Divine Wisdom,<sup>1</sup> has been easily successful. Can we wonder that this psalm was a favourite with the Lord Jesus, who quoted it at the climax of His history, and must have partly derived from it His best-loved title, "the Son of man"; or that two of the greatest New Testament writers quoted it to justify their loftiest intuitions?<sup>2</sup> We must not however approach any Old Testament passage from the point of view of Christian applications of it. In our study of the Old Testament we must make but this one theological assumption: that Christ is not only the root of the new Israel but the flower of the old, and that the literature of the Jewish Church contains many a true germ of the truths of the gospel. Beautiful as mystical interpretations may often be, it is not wise to indulge in them, unless they are consistent with the original meaning which the writer himself put upon his words.

<sup>1</sup> Prov. viii. 30.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Cor. xv. 27; Heb. ii. 8.

It is a hymn in three stanzas that we are about to study, with the two first lines repeated (in ver. 9) as a chorus,—

*"Jehovah our Lord,*

*How excellent is thy name in all the earth!"*

The three stanzas are vers. 1 and 2, 3-5, and 6-8. The first gives the occasion of the poem; the "sweet psalmist" dedicates his powers to the glory of Him who is at once the God of Israel and of all nations, of man and of the universe. Like the author of the 103rd Psalm, he looks upon man as the priest of nature, and in the abeyance of proper worship from the Gentiles, upon Israel as the priest of mankind. "Jehovah our Lord" then means "Jehovah, Lord of praiseful Israel, and of mute mankind." God in His lovingkindness chose the family of Abraham to set an example of that righteous way of life which He approves, but with the further object that in distant days all nations of the earth should "bless themselves by Abraham."<sup>1</sup> But as yet, few, if any, of the Gentiles "are joined unto the people of the God of Abraham."<sup>2</sup> The restored exiles have no material strength; they are, as the psalms so often say, the "poor and afflicted," and the nations around are hostile to them, not out of pure spite, but because Jehovah's religion is so unlike every other. "Thine adversaries," the psalmist calls them, and also "the enemy and the avenger"; or, to put it more clearly, "the self-avenger" (*i.e.* the revengeful). How well one can understand this in the light of what we are told of Sanballat the Horonite and Tobiah the Ammonite in the book of Nehemiah, and again of what we are told in Psalm lxxxiii. of the furious nations, whom "Asaph" calls "thy (*i.e.* God's) enemies," and whose desire was "that the name of Israel might be no more in remembrance" (vers. 2, 4)! Against such foes what weapons had so small and weak a people? None but the greatest of all. Do you guess what I mean? It

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xviii. 18, 19.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xlvii. 9, Prayer-Book Version.



is prayer; not only that kind of prayer which expresses itself in passionate cries for help—cries, like those in the 83rd Psalm, but also, when Israel has had time to collect himself, the prayer which is transfigured into praise.<sup>1</sup>

*“ Out of the mouth of babes and sucklings hast thou established strength,*

*Because of thine adversaries,*

*That thou mightest still the enemy and the avenger.”*

Need I justify myself for explaining the phrase “babes and sucklings” of true believers? Who does not remember our Lord’s saying, so thoroughly Old Testament-like in its expressions, “I thank thee, O Father, Lord of heaven and earth, that thou hast hid these things from the wise and prudent, and hast revealed them unto babes”?<sup>2</sup> The psalmist means that notes of praise in their clear and heavenly purity rise far above the harsh discords of earth, and reach the throne of God.<sup>3</sup> There they become like the cherub on which the fancy of the olden time pictured Jehovah descending to fight for His people. A later psalmist of more spiritual imagination beautifully said that God “inhabiteth the praises of Israel.”<sup>4</sup> Another declared that praise was His favourite sacrifice,<sup>5</sup> and our present psalmist that the praises of the Church are like a tower of strength, from which He will invisibly issue forth to deliver His people. For who, if Israel be destroyed, will praise Him? *“Who will give thee thanks in the pit?”*<sup>6</sup> *“This people have I formed for myself; they shall show forth my praise.”*<sup>7</sup>

And what shall be the subject of Israel’s praise? Let another psalmist answer. *“Many, Jehovah, my God, are thy wonderful works which thou hast done, and thy thoughts which are to us-ward.”*<sup>8</sup> Israel will assuredly praise his God

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xlii. 8.

<sup>2</sup> Matt. xi. 25.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Lam. iii. 44.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xxii. 3.

<sup>5</sup> Ps. l. 14.

Ps. vi. 5.

<sup>7</sup> Isa. xliii. 21.

<sup>8</sup> Ps. xl. 5.

for the wonders of his history ; but shall he be silent when he "considers" the wonders of creation, especially the glorious "moon and stars" of an eastern night, which give so deep a notion of infinity? You see that to this psalmist, as well as to the author of Psalm civ., the name Jehovah suggests, not what some might call a narrow, national idea, but the grand thought of the universe, heaven and earth, moon and stars, man and his willing subjects. "*How excellent is thy name!*" But what, more precisely, do we mean by the "name" of Jehovah? The Divine name can neither be shut up in a word nor in a house. "Our Father" can be worshipped by those who, like some theists in ancient and modern times, fear to name Him, and who have an almost morbid distaste for sacred places and liturgical forms. The "name" of which the psalmists adoringly speak is that "wonderful" and ineffable name, in which all the manifestations of Himself, which God either has granted or may grant, are summed up. That great storehouse is like some mighty stream, from which millions of men can draw without exhausting it ; save that the Nile and the Euphrates have but a provincial course, whereas Jehovah's name "is excellent in all the earth." Time was when a temple-poet could say, "His name is great in Israel."<sup>1</sup> But our psalmist can go beyond this ; to praise Jehovah is the birthright of every child of man, seeing that he is also ideally a child of God.<sup>2</sup> The prayer, "Hallowed be thy name," shall one day be a reconciling force which shall "make wars to cease unto the end of the earth." Why not? Are not the prayers and praises of the Church the true cherubim? And must not Jehovah's manifestations of Himself in the future be as great as those in the past?

That some of these angels, as a psalmist might have called them, are on their way, we may learn from the second line of the first verse, "*Thou that hast set thy glory above* (not

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxvi. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Luke ii. 38.

merely upon) *the heavens*." The thought is the same as in that other song of creation—the 104th Psalm (see vers. 1-3). There is a never to be explored storehouse of Divine glory above the heavens, where Jehovah invisibly sitteth, wrapped in light as in a mantle. No more than all that light which was created, according to a prose-poet, on the first day, was expended on the sun, the moon, and the stars, can the glory of Jehovah, whether in the natural or the spiritual sphere, have been as yet fully revealed. His mighty acts, not less than His tender mercies, "are new every morning,"<sup>1</sup> and there is the freshness of the morning dew upon each of His works. Yes; the saying, "There is nothing new under the sun," may be half true when applied to man's works; it is altogether untrue when applied to God's. Shall we not then resist those subtle influences which tend to impair the faculty of admiration, by which, in a certain sense, as Wordsworth says, "we live," not less than by hope and love? Shall we not seek to renew it, if it is impaired, and say, in the words of an Egyptian hymn, "O my God and Lord, who hast made me and formed me, give me an eye to see and an ear to hear Thy glories?"<sup>2</sup> For if we are only able to perceive it,—

*"Day unto day poureth out speech,*

*And night unto night showeth forth knowledge"* (Ps. xix. 2).

One of the greatest of the prophetic writers says, "He wakeneth mine ear morning by morning" (Isa. l. 4). This openness of the inner eye and ear we call faith. The same spiritually minded poet to whom I have referred assures us in platonic style that every child has visions, denied to the grown man, of the heavenly palace from which he came, and bids us give thanks for those shadowy recollections which "are the fountain light of all our day," and are intimations of immortality. Let us follow him in his happy faith respecting those who in age are children: a faith which accords

<sup>1</sup> Lam. iii. 23.

Renouf, *Hibbert Lectures*, p. 216.

so well with the great Teacher's assurance of their nearness to the King of kings.<sup>1</sup> But let us not resign the hope that visions as glorious of their palace-home, and a resistance as absolute to the idea of death, may be granted to all those who are childlike in heart. For although it was of the children of a Jewish village that Jesus said, "Their angels do always behold the face of my Father which is in heaven" (Matt. xviii. 10), yet is there any reason to think that God cherishes the ideal of a child of six more than the ideal of a child of sixty? What difference can fifty or sixty years make in God's estimate of us, as long as we are still "following on to know Jehovah," still improvable, still becoming a little more idealized year by year? What is a guardian angel but an ideal which to God is real, and very near His heart?<sup>2</sup> Let us see to it that we keep God's ideal of our lives very close to us, and that we make progress in the language of childlike faith, which He so loves to hear. As the natural faculty of speech, quite apart from character, makes the poorest child more glorious than the whole of the mute creation, so the supernatural faculty of praise gives a glory to the meanest believer which the most intellectually gifted unspiritual person cannot possess. And this glory is the "strength" or "stronghold" of which the psalmist speaks, and which (according to the experience of the Jewish Church) can "still the enemy and the revengeful."

Paradoxical indeed it is that "the weak things of the world" should thus claim the ability "to confound the

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xviii. 10. The guardian angels are the Divine ideals of the children.

<sup>2</sup> The devout faith of the Old Testament writers is, that God has ever at hand a crowd of ideas and ideals, waiting to be realized in the world of humanity. The most important of these the later Jews called "the seven holy angels which go in and out before the glory of the Holy One" (Tob. xii. 15; cf. Luke i. 19). But our Lord assures us that the ideal of each childlike soul is as near to His Father as the ideal, say, of a seventh part of the world. It is the glory of Jehovah to delight Himself equally in the greatest and in the seemingly smallest objects.



things which are mighty.”<sup>1</sup> But not more so than the theistic belief itself. No theism short of absolute trust in God is tolerable in the face of the miseries of human life. Job had not this absolute trust, and so he turned the admiring exclamation of the psalmist into food for his despairing pessimism.

*“I loathe my life ; I would not live away.*

*What is man, that thou shouldest magnify him,  
And that thou shouldest set thine heart upon him,  
And that thou shouldest visit him every morning,  
And try him every moment ? ”*<sup>2</sup>

But to the psalmist it is a pleasure to live, even (it may be) in some part of the period of national decline. High thoughts of God have visited Israel in its humiliation. The more exalted Jehovah is seen to be, the greater becomes the wonder and the joy of His continual nearness to Israel. There is no greater marvel even to us than the success with which the Jewish saints have combined in their practical religion the idea of God’s transcendence with that of His immanence. With such a God so near, so high and yet so lowly (the epithet is surely more suitable than “condescending”), how can favoured man envy the state of angels?

*“Thou madest him scarce less than angels,  
And didst crown him with glory and honour ;  
Thou madest him to have dominion over the works of thy hands,*

*Thou didst put all things under his feet.”*

But, again, how can these things be? For, as the earliest Christian commentator on the psalms has said, “we see not yet all things put under him.”<sup>3</sup> Well, the psalmist doubtless alludes to the first chapter of Genesis,

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. i. 27.

<sup>2</sup> Job vii. 16-18.

<sup>3</sup> Heb. ii. 8.

which is not indeed described as a vision, but is as much a vision as any poetic description of what is ideally, but not altogether really true, ever was. We need not be surprised that one of the temple-poets glides into the same style. In ver. 2, he is in the midst of the daily life of his people, and speaks of the spiritual "stronghold" which Jehovah has granted to it. Then, being a special admirer of the first of the two primitive histories in Genesis, he throws himself into its idealizing mode of thought, and contemplates God's high purpose for man. But with the biblical writers the ideal is not "baseless as the fabric of a vision" of the night; it is the prophecy of the real that shall be. St. Paul therefore rightly interprets our psalm<sup>1</sup> in the light of Isaiah xxv. 8, "He hath swallowed up death for ever." Death is the great hindrance to the realization of God's purpose for man, and death, according to the unnamed prophet of the Jewish Church who wrote those words, is to be annihilated in the Messianic age. "For behold," as another glorious unnamed prophecy says, "I create new heavens and a new earth, and the former things (darkened as they were by the shadow of death) shall not be remembered, nor come into mind."<sup>2</sup> And that scholar of St. Paul, though different in many ways from his master, who wrote the Epistle to the Hebrews, with not less substantial truth speaks of Jesus Christ as the Person who was for a little while made lower than the angels, and yet was Lord of all, because in Jesus the spiritual ideal of man is fully realized.<sup>3</sup> The psalmist does, in fact, look forward, not consciously to the coming of Jesus Christ, but to the realization of the human ideal through some mighty act of the Divine Spirit. He recapitulates the ancient charter of man's royal dignity, and refuses to admit a doubt as to man's ultimate assumption of his rights. So to think is to have a foretaste of future

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor xv. 26, 27, 54.<sup>2</sup> Isa. lxx. 17.<sup>3</sup> Heb. ii. 6-9.

blessedness; so to trust is to be beyond the power of grief to sadden, or of trouble to cast down.

"What a piece of work is man!" exclaims Shakespeare. "How noble in reason! how infinite in faculties! in form and moving how express and admirable! in action how like an angel! in apprehension how like a god!" But who can say this unless he believes with our noble Milton that Time can take away nothing that is "sincerely good and perfectly Divine"? It remains true that only as we live in God have we the promise of realizing our ideals in a blessed immortality. Unless we can say the 16th Psalm, the despairing question recurs in all its gloom,—

*"What man is he that shall live on and not see death,  
That shall deliver his soul from the hand of Hades?"*

The charter of man's dignity is a dead letter to those who have no germs of the Christlike character.

*"Man that is in honour, but understandeth not,  
Is like unto the beasts that perish."*<sup>1</sup>

Man is not only not above nature, apart from Christ, but among the weakest of nature's slaves. The beasts suffer less, the trees are more long-lived than he; civilization does but make him less independent, less easy to content. He cannot even comfort himself with his ideals, for what proof is there that they will ever be realized? A Jewish saint could only build up his faith on the intuitions of greater saints than he; a Christian saint can build up his upon facts—upon the facts of the historical revelation of God in Christ. Well may we Christians say, with a clearer consciousness of the meaning of the words than the psalmist can have enjoyed,

*"What is man, that thou art mindful of him?  
And the son of man, that thou visitest him?"*

T. K. CHEYNE.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xlix. 20.

## *THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.*

### XII. THE ORDER OF MELCHISEDEC (CHAP. VII. 1-10).

HAVING unburdened his heart by these words of complaint and charitable hope, our author proceeds to determine the nature of the Melchisedec order of priesthood, and to demonstrate its superior and supreme value. Before considering his method of fixing the type, and showing its ideal worth, it may be helpful to offer here some introductory observations on the writer's aim in introducing into his treatise this remarkable speculation, if I may so designate it, or the function which the latter performs in his argument.

The section concerning the Melchisedec type of priesthood serves, I think, a double purpose. First, and in some respects foremost in importance, there is the apologetic purpose. The writer eagerly lays hold of the Melchisedec priesthood, as a means of showing that Christ might be a priest, though not possessing the legal qualifications for the Levitical priesthood. Here is a priesthood, represented in the oracle of Psalm cx. as of a different order, to which Jesus, as the Messiah, may lay claim. This new type of priesthood, other than Levitical, further serves well the apologetic aim by its priority in point of time. The new type is older than the Levitical, supposed alone to possess legitimacy; nay, is the oldest type known to history. In comparison with this ancient order, the Levitical priesthood is an upstart. But what if this order were only a rude, imperfect, irregular sort of priesthood, good enough for those old-world times, and graciously accepted by God in absence of a better, but destined to pass away when a regularly established priesthood came in, not worthy to continue side by side therewith, and not fit to be referred



to as establishing a new sort of priesthood, claiming to supersede the Levitical? In that case it would be a mere impertinence to refer to that rude, primitive priesthood to justify the antiquation of the divinely instituted, not merely graciously tolerated, priesthood of the sons of Levi. This would be a very natural view of the matter for Jewish minds to take; and the apologist of Christianity could not be sure that it would not suggest itself to the Hebrew Christians whom he sought to establish in the faith. The possibility was present to his mind, and he amply provides for it in his argument by unfolding the full significance of the oracle in Psalm cx., pointing out that the priesthood of Melchisedec is there referred to, not as a rude, irregular, inferior sort of priesthood, the continuance of which, in times of established order, were absurd or impious, but as the highest sort of priesthood, the very ideal of priesthood, a priesthood fit for kings, as opposed to sacerdotal drudges. “‘Thou art a priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec.’ Here,” says our apologist in effect, “here is Melchisedec’s priesthood erected into the dignity of an eternal priesthood, a priesthood worthy to be established by an oath, a priesthood which would not dishonour a king, nay, a priesthood fit even for Messiah; for you, my readers, believe this to be a Messianic psalm. See how possible it is for Jesus to be not only a priest, but *the Priest par excellence*, though not of the house of Aaron.”

The Melchisedec priesthood a distinct type, the most ancient, and, though ancient, yet not rude, but rather the better, and the best possible, such are the moments in the apologetic argument, which has for its aim to prove that the priesthood of Christ is at once real, and of ideal worth. One cannot help comparing this use of the Melchisedec priesthood in our epistle with that made by Paul of the *promise* in the Epistle to the Galatians.<sup>1</sup> The promise,

<sup>1</sup> For some interesting observations on this parallel between Paul and the

argued Paul, was *before* the law, and therefore above it: the law came in afterwards, not to supersede the promise, but to serve a purpose in subordination to it; and when that purpose is fulfilled, the law must pass away, that the promise may come into full effect, and the reign of grace begin.<sup>1</sup> Both lines of thought tend in the same general direction, that of establishing the independence and absolute worth of Christianity over against Judaism. Paul, by his line of thought concerning the promise, establishes the absolute worth of Christianity as against *legalism*; the author of our epistle, by his line of thought concerning the Melchisedec priesthood, establishes the same truth as against *Leviticalism*, thereby exhibiting himself as in full sympathy with the Pauline system, if not as a direct disciple of the great Gentile apostle.

Besides the apologetic purpose of the Melchisedec section, we may distinguish a dogmatic one. In saying this, I do not mean that the writer himself makes any such formal distinction, or deals with the relative material successively from the apologetic and the dogmatic points of view; but merely that we may regard what he has written on the subject from the latter point of view as well as from the former. Dogmatically considered, the section exhibits the Melchisedec priesthood as a symbol of the eternal validity of Christ's priestly functions. In this connexion, the expression "for ever" in the oracle from the Psalter is the point emphasized. In his scheme of thought, our author employs the Aaronic type of priesthood to convey an idea

writer of the Epistle to the Hebrews, *vide* Pfeiderer's *Paulinismus*, p. 365. The idea of Christ as a priest after the order of Melchisedec, he represents as strictly a pendant to the Pauline philosophy of religion. The apologetic value of the Melchisedec priesthood is not destroyed by the fact of his not belonging to the Jewish people. No Jew could say, "What is Melchisedec or his priesthood to us? He was a mere heathen." The priest of Salem was drawn into, and, as it were, naturalized in the history of Israel by Abraham receiving the benefit of his priestly benediction, and recognising him as the priest of the most high God.

<sup>1</sup> Gal. iii. 17.

of the nature of Christ's priestly functions, and the Melchisedec type to symbolize the everlasting duration of His priestly office. Hence, in determining the characteristics of the latter type, it is to the attribute of eternity that he gives prominence (ver. 3). But it would be a mistake to suppose that he attaches no importance to any other attribute, or means to suggest that none but the one emphasized enters into the idea of the type. The contrary is evident, from the way in which he deals with the history of Melchisedec, in order to determine the nature of his priesthood. It is further evident from the nature of the case. Eternity is the main fact, but the question inevitably arises, Why is the Melchisedec type of priesthood eternal? The answer must be, because it is perfect, because it possesses ideal value. Eternity and ethical worth go together. We see this, and that the writer saw it will forthwith appear. The "order of Melchisedec," as he conceived it, did not mean merely an eternal priesthood, but a priesthood of such a nature that its eternity follows of course.

It is not surprising that the ancient priest of Salem took so strong a hold of an imaginative, philosophic mind like that of our author. Melchisedec is a striking figure in the early history of mankind. The reference to him in the Hebrew Psalter shows that from of old he had attracted the attention of men of prophetic gifts in Israel, and that in the few facts narrated concerning him such men had been able to discern an ideal significance. That Philo would have something to say about him might have been anticipated. But what he says is not important or stimulating. One searching the writings of the Alexandrian philosopher, in quest of thoughts concerning Melchisedec similar to those in our epistle, and fitted to support the hypothesis that the writer drew his inspiration from him, is doomed to disappointment. Philo does not quote or refer to the text in Psalm cx., and there is nothing in all

his writings to show that he followed the psalmist in ascribing to Melchisedec an ideal significance. What Bleek says is strictly true, that in Philo the significance of Melchisedec is always treated of in an incidental manner.<sup>1</sup> On the whole, he speaks of the priest of Salem with respect, though one phrase might almost suggest that he conceived of his priesthood as of the rude character above indicated. I refer to that passage in which he describes it as a "self-learned, self-taught priesthood."<sup>2</sup> There is certainly nothing in his writings to justify the representation that on the subject of Melchisedec the writer of our epistle borrowed from him. We can fairly claim for our author originality, so far, at least, as Philo is concerned. He got his inspiration, not from the Jewish philosopher, but from the Hebrew prophet who wrote Psalm cx. And what he got from the poet's brief pregnant word was but an impulse, a starting point, a slight hint, which only a mind of an equally high order could appreciate, and which for generations of Bible-readers had remained dead, unproductive, almost unobserved. All honour to the man, through whose philosophic genius, illuminated by the Spirit of Christ, the grain of precious wheat, after abiding alone for ages, at length attained to abundant fruitfulness, in the form of a theory concerning the Melchisedec priesthood of Jesus Christ, preserved for our instruction in the seventh chapter of this epistle, whose contents we now proceed to consider!<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Hebräerbrief*, ii., p. 323, note.

<sup>2</sup> ὁ τὴν αὐτομαθὴ καὶ αὐτοδίδακτον λαχὼν ιερωσύνην, in the tract *De Congr. Erud. Gr.*, cap. xviii. In another place Philo speaks of God having made Melchisedec a priest by an act of grace, without regard to any meritorious work of his: *ιερέα ἑαυτοῦ πεποιήκεν ὁ Θεός, οὐδὲν ἔργον αὐτοῦ προδιατυπώσας* (*Leg. Allegor.*, iii. 25). In the same place Melchisedec is compared to reason, the point of the comparison being, that reason is able to discourse worthily of God, the highest of all themes, and Melchisedec was the priest of the most high God: *ιερεὺς γὰρ ἐστὶ λόγος* (not ὁ λόγος), *κλήρον ἔχων τὸν θῆτα, καὶ ὑψηλῶς περὶ αὐτοῦ λογιζόμενος*. "For Reason is a priest, having Him who is for his inheritance, and reasoning loftily concerning Him."

<sup>3</sup> I am surprised to find Dr. Edwards treating the passage relating to Mel-



The first part of the chapter (vers. 1-10) has for its object to determine the type, or to fix the meaning of the expression, "after the order of Melchisedec." In the opening paragraph, the writer condenses into one closely packed sentence every particular of typical significance in reference to the mysterious personage whose priesthood is represented in Psalm cx. as the model of Messiah's. Of the things here said, some are plain enough, being simply a repetition of the historical facts as stated in the book of Genesis; others are indeed hard to be understood, and have given rise to great variety of interpretation. Yet it is possible to exaggerate the difficulty of these enigmatical statements, and so to make the whole discourse about Melchisedec a cloud of mist, obscuring the great truth of Christ's priestly office, rather than a light shining in a dark place, through which a subject ill understood becomes clearer to the mental eye. The meaning of this remarkable passage can be ascertained, in proof whereof it is enough to adduce the fact, that the leading expositors of ancient and modern times are in the main agreed as to the sense.

Let us note first the structure of this long sentence. The main proposition, stripped of all adjuncts (and these are so numerous that the fact might escape notice), is, "For this Melchisedec abideth a priest for ever, or continually." Hence the word γάρ (for), with which the chapter begins. At the close of chapter vi. it is said of Jesus, that He entered heaven, to be there a High Priest for ever, after the order of Melchisedec; the idea implied being, that eternal endurance is an essential characteristic of the Melchisedec priesthood. Here this thought is justified by the

chisedec as a mere allegory borrowed from Philo, which "cannot be intended by the apostle to have direct inferential force." If Christ's priesthood is not proved at this point in the epistle, it is not proved at all. The writer certainly thinks he is proving it. The whole stress of his argument lies on the apologetic value of the Melchisedec priesthood.

assertion that the typical Melchisedec had a priesthood, whose nature it is to abide for ever.

Of the participial or relative clauses lying between the beginning and the end of the sentence, the first five, down to the words ἐμέρισεν Ἀβραάμ (ver. 2, clause 1), recapitulate the historical facts concerning Melchisedec; the remaining eight are a comment on the history, intended mainly to justify the statement that Melchisedec abideth a priest continually, and incidentally to suggest other characteristics of the priesthood that abideth. This analysis yields three categories under which the contents may be ranged: first, the *facts*; second, the *commentary*; third, the main proposition or *doctrine*.

1. The facts are simple and need little explanatory comment. Melchisedec is called "king of *Salem*," which most commentators regard as the name of a *place* to be identified with Jerusalem. He is next called "priest of the most high God," the title being exactly reproduced from the Septuagint. The third fact referred to is the meeting between Melchisedec and Abraham, on the return of the latter from his victorious battle with the kings. That the writer has his eye on the page of the Septuagint appears from the use of the Hellenistic word κοπή, employed by the Seventy to express the idea of defeat or slaughter.<sup>1</sup> The fourth fact mentioned is that Melchisedec blessed Abraham. The words of blessing are not quoted, the aim being simply to emphasize the fact that Abraham was blessed by Melchisedec. Last in the list of facts comes the gift of a tenth of the spoil to Melchisedec by Abraham, an act of worship on the patriarch's part, whereby he recognised God as the universal proprietor and Melchisedec as His priestly vice-regent.

2. For the better understanding of the writer's *commentary* on these facts, we must recall to mind the practical

<sup>1</sup> Gen. xiv. 17.

design of this whole excursus concerning Melchisedec. It is to determine the notes of the ideal perfect priesthood of the Christ, as typified by the priest of Salem. For this purpose he finds it necessary to attach importance, not merely to what is said of Melchisedec in the history, but to what is *not* said. He gets at the ideal by laying stress on the *silences* as well as on the *utterances* of the narrative in Genesis. Whatever we may think of his method of reasoning, there can be no doubt of the fact that he does so reason, and the fact must be frankly recognised, if we are to get at his real thought. He finds, *e.g.*, that no mention is made of the parentage or genealogy of Melchisedec, and he regards that as significant. And on reflection one sees that he has some reason for doing so, and that his method of fixing the notes of the Melchisedec order is not so arbitrary or fanciful as at the first blush we are apt to imagine. This inspired commentator is by no means a blind disciple of the rabbis in his method of exegesis. The lack of a genealogy in the case of Melchisedec is undoubtedly a significant circumstance, at once suggesting the thought that here we have a priesthood of a different sort from that of the tribe of Levi. For in connexion with the Levitical priesthood parentage, genealogy, was of fundamental importance. To be a priest in Israel it was necessary to belong to the tribe of Levi, and no man might exercise sacerdotal functions who could not trace his lineage to the house of Aaron. If therefore, so far as the history is concerned, Melchisedec was fatherless, motherless, without genealogy, it must signify, for the typical interpretation, that his was a sort of priesthood that had no connexion with parentage or descent, depending on personal not on technical external qualifications.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In Philo, Sarah is called ἀμήτωρ because the name of her mother is not mentioned. But, as Bleek has pointed out, by the epithet Philo does not mean merely that Sarah was motherless so far as the record is concerned, but that she had no mother.

That this is the true explanation of those mysterious epithets ἀπάτωρ, ἀμήτωρ, ἀγενεαλόγητος there is no room for doubt. Equally certain is it that the two following phrases, "having neither beginning of days, nor end of life," are to be explained on a similar principle. Here also significance is attached to the silences of history. The narrative in Genesis makes no allusion to the birth or the death of Melchisedec; so far as the record is concerned, he is without beginning of days and end of life. He makes a mysterious, momentary appearance out of eternity on the stage of time, then disappears for ever from view, to be mentioned only once again in Old Testament Scripture in a psalm which represents his priesthood as the ideal priesthood, and, on the principle that whatever is ideal is Messianic, as the type of Messiah's priesthood. Our author assumes that in fixing on the Melchisedec priesthood as the ideal, the psalmist laid stress on the absence of all reference to birth or death in the historical account, and so obtained eternal duration as one of the marks, as the outstanding mark, of the kind or order. He for his own part sees no other way whereby the attribute of eternity can be shown to be a mark of the Melchisedec order; and that it is a mark is a point settled for him by the fact that it is so represented in the prophetic oracle.

The last clause in the commentary need not now cause us much trouble. "Made like unto the Son of God." The words simply put in different form the thought contained in the previous clause. The intention is to suggest a parallel between Melchisedec and the Son of God in their respective relations to time. The Son of God as Son of man, like Melchisedec, had both a birth and a death; yet as Son of God He had neither beginning of days nor end of life. And Melchisedec is likened unto Him in this, that his life, so far as the record is concerned, is "shrouded in the mystery of eternity."



Having thus explained the more difficult part of the commentary, let me revert now to the easier portion, hitherto overlooked. "Being first by interpretation (of the name Melchisedec) king of righteousness, and then also king of Salem, which is king of peace." A mystic significance is assigned to the priest's name, and to the name of the city over which he ruled. It is assumed that these names, mystically interpreted, are to be taken into account in determining the marks of the "order of Melchisedec." No other reason can be given why the writer thinks it necessary to explain their meaning. He did not need to tell his Hebrew readers the literal meaning of the words *Melchi*, *Zedec*, *Salem*. He interprets them because he wishes to suggest ideas entering into the "order" of which these words are the symbols, the ideas of *royalty*, *righteousness*, and a royal priesthood resulting in *peace*, or exercised in a region of peace remote from the passion, temptation, and strife of this world. And this is just what was to be expected. For it is not enough to know that the new (yet most ancient) order of priesthood is eternal. We want, further, to know the intrinsic nature of a priesthood to which it belongs to be eternal. That the new order is eternal is a fact, if you please it is the main fact; but the fact has its *rationale*, and our demand is to know the *rationale*. Our author recognises the demand as reasonable, and does his utmost to meet it; and we accept these interpretations of names as a welcome contribution to the solution of the problem. The above-mentioned attributes, royalty, righteousness, etc., are therefore by no means to be regarded as "only accessories," which "might conceivably be absent without derogating from His Melchisedec priesthood." They are no more accessory than is perfection accessory to the Christian religion, which throughout the epistle is declared to be eternal. Christianity is the final, perennial religion, because it is the perfect religion, the

religion which for the first time established a real, unrestricted fellowship between man and God. In like manner the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec is eternal, because in it for the first time the ideal of priesthood is realized, and all the conditions of an absolutely efficient exercise of priestly functions are fully satisfied.

Not one merely, but five notes are specified as belonging to the Melchisedec type of priesthood. Taking them in the order in which they are referred to in the text, it is first, a *royal* priesthood (*king* of righteousness); second, a *righteous* priesthood (*king* of *righteousness*); third, a priesthood promotive of *peace*, or exercised in the country of peace (*king* of *peace*); fourth, it is a *personal*, not an inherited dignity (without father, without mother); fifth, it is an *eternal* priesthood (without beginning of days or end of life). The first four are related to the last as cause to effect. Because the priesthood after the order of Melchisedec possesses these characteristics, it is eternal.

3. A word now on the main affirmation, that Melchisedec "abideth a priest continually." The variation in expression (εἰς τὸ διηνεκές instead of εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα, vi. 20) is probably made out of regard to style, rather than to convey a different shade of meaning. The point to be noted is, that it is affirmed of the historical Melchisedec that he is a priest for ever. In what sense is this true? The statement is to be understood in the same way as all the others of similar startling character. Melchisedec had neither predecessor nor successor in office. We know of one priest of Salem, and but one. He lives in Scripture and in our imagination the priest of the city of peace. If he had had in the history, as doubtless he had in fact, a successor in office, we should have said of him that he *was* the priest of Salem in the days of Abraham. As the case stands, he *is* the priest of Salem. He is known and lives in sacred history by that name, and in that respect, as well

as in others, is an apt type of the one, true, eternal Priest of humanity. More than this may be said. Not only does Melchisedec abide in name the priest of Salem, but his priestly acts have an abiding value. His blessing on Abraham had a lasting effect. Levi was blessed (as well as tithed) in Abraham; all the generations of Israel got the benefit of that blessing. It is a great thing for a people to have a Melchisedec at the fountain-head of its history, a man fitted by genuine holiness and righteousness to transact on behalf of his fellow men with God. The prayer of a righteous man availeth much, and the life of a saintly man availeth much. Such prayers and such lives are the bread and wine of life to men, from generation to generation.

Such then is the "order of Melchisedec," and such are the notes of that august order. The question might now be raised, Does the order thus determined absolutely coincide with the ideal order? in other words, Is the order of Melchisedec, possessing the above-mentioned characteristics, the highest order of priesthood conceivable? It is a question in speculative or philosophical theology. To answer it, it would be necessary to form a conception of an ideally perfect priesthood, and then to ascertain how far the marks of the Melchisedec order covered the ground. Thus we might say: The ideal priest must be really, not merely ritually, holy; he must not be a mere sacerdotal drudge, offering daily *ex officio* the statutory tale of sacrifices, but one whose whole priestly ministry is a course of gracious condescension—a royal priest, whose sacrifice is the outcome and highest manifestation of free, sovereign love; he must be one who by his personal worth and official acts is able to establish a reign of righteousness, peace, and perfect fellowship between man and God; finally, he must be one who never dies, ever lives, hath a priesthood that does not pass from him to another, as a guarantee for the maintenance of peace and fellowship. If this be the ideal, then

the Melchisedec order comes indefinitely near to its realization; its notes all point that way, though they are so rapidly indicated, that their full import cannot be certainly determined, but can only be guessed at. The words *king*, *righteousness*, *peace* are very suggestive, but the writer has not attempted to appreciate their precise value in relation to the order, preferring to leave them vague, provocative of thought, rather than satisfying the intellectual craving for knowledge, as is the way of Scripture writers in general.<sup>1</sup>

While not attempting the philosophical task of showing that the order of Melchisedec satisfied the requirements of the ideal, our author takes pains to show that that order is, at least, vastly superior to the order of Levi. This is the burden of what follows of chapter vii. (vers. 4-28). No less than five arguments are adduced in support of the thesis: one based on the personal dignity of Melchisedec, three on the oracle in Psalm cx., and the fifth based on the contrast between *many* and *one*: many priests under the order of Levi, one priest under the order of Melchisedec. The first, as a pendant to the statement concerning the nature of the order, may be considered here; the rest will form the subject of the next paper. -

How great was this man, Melchisedec! He was greater even than Abraham, the great, august patriarch of our race; therefore greater than his descendants, including the tribe of Levi. Such is the drift of vers. 4-10.

Two facts are adduced as showing that Melchisedec was greater than Abraham. He received tithes from the patriarch, and he gave him his blessing. To bring out the significance of the former fact a comparison is made between the tithe-taking of Melchisedec and the similar

<sup>1</sup> Mr. Rendall suggests that the kingly aspect of Christ's Melchisedec priesthood, while evidently regarded by the writer as of essential importance, is not made prominent from prudential reasons. "The title in the mouth of Hebrews was readily susceptible of a treasonable construction at the time of the national Jewish rebellion."



privilege of the Levitical priesthood (vers. 5, 6). "It is true indeed that those of the sons of Levi who receive the office of the priesthood have a commandment, are entitled by statute, under the Mosaic law, to tithe the people, though they be their brethren descended from the same ancestor. But Melchisedec, who hath no part in their genealogy (and therefore no legal right), nevertheless tithed Abraham." Such is the drift of these verses, and the point specially emphasized is, that the right of the Levitical priest is only a legal right. He is not intrinsically superior to his fellow Israelites; they are all his brethren. Only a positive statute gives him the right of tithing his brethren as the means of his support, so that the fact of his receiving tithes is no evidence of personal superiority. But in Melchisedec's case it is different. He had no legal right. There was no law entitling him to receive or compelling Abraham to give tithes. The gift on the patriarch's part was entirely spontaneous. And just because it was so, it was, in the view of our author, unmistakable evidence of Melchisedec's personal greatness. He was so great a man in every sense, that the high-souled patriarch, who scorned to play the part of sycophant towards the king of Sodom, of his own motion, no law or custom compelling, out of pure reverence for worth, offered to the priest of Salem a tenth of the spoil taken in battle. Surely the priesthood of this man, who inspires reverence in the noblest, is of a very high order, superior to that based on a statute, a mere hereditary trade or profession.

In giving tithes to Melchisedec then, Abraham voluntarily acknowledged his superiority. And Melchisedec in turn accepted the position accorded to him by bestowing on the donor his blessing: "And blessed him who had the promises. And without all contradiction, the less is blessed by the better" (vers. 6, 7). The fact is held to be conclusive evidence as to the relative position of the

parties, in accordance with the axiom that it belongs to the superior person to bless. The axiom is certainly true, though it is subject to limitations, holding chiefly with reference to *solemn* benedictions, and with regard even to these only when the parties understand and accept their proper relative positions. The inferior in age, status, worth, influence may assume the position of blessing giver if he be conceited, forward, impudent. But in all cases it is true that it belongs to the better to bless the less. It is the place of the father to bless his son, of age to bless youth, as when Jacob blessed his son Joseph and his two grandsons, or Simeon blessed Mary the mother of Jesus. It is no exception to the rule that Jacob blesses Pharaoh; for such is the dignity of age, that the humblest peasant whose head is hoary, and whose feet have walked through life in the paths of righteousness, may with perfect propriety give his blessing to a king.

To enhance the greatness of Melchisedec as the bestower of blessing, it is carefully noted that the receiver of blessing was he who had the promises. It was no small matter to bless the man who had the promises! How great must he have been, who, without presumption, might give his blessing to the man whom the Maker of heaven and earth had called to be the father of a great nation, and to be a fountain of blessing for all the nations!

But it is Melchisedec's superiority over the Levitical priests that our author is really concerned to establish. For this purpose he states or suggests no less than four arguments. First, greater than the ancestor, therefore *à fortiori* greater than all or any of his descendants. This argument is suggested by the epithet "patriarch" (ὁ πατριάρχης) attached to the name of Abraham in ver. 4, and placed at the end of the sentence for emphasis. Second, greater than the sons of Levi, even in the respect in which they were superior to their brethren of the other

tribes; they receiving tithes in virtue of a legal right, he receiving tithes in virtue of a higher moral right freely and cordially acknowledged by the giver. Third, greater in this, that in receiving tithes from Abraham, he virtually received tithes from his descendants, including the tribe of Levi (vers. 9, 10). Fourth, he received tithes as one who continues to live, the Levitical priests receive tithes as men that die (ver. 8).

The third argument is curious. The reasoning may appear to us more subtle and ingenious than convincing; and the writer himself seems to hint that it must be taken *cum grano* by introducing it with an apologetic phrase: "And so to say (καὶ ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν) through Abraham Levi also, the receiver of tithes, was tithed; for he was yet in the loins of his father, when Melchisedec met him." Yet the statement will bear examination. It simply proclaims in a concrete form the principle that Abraham, in all the leading transactions of his life, was a representative man. To many this idea of solidarity appears a mere theological fiction. But it is not so, indeed: it is a great law whose operation is discernible in the whole course of human history. There are individuals in whose personal life the history of whole races is, as it were, summed up. Abraham was one of these. God's call to him was a call to Israel. God's blessing to him was a blessing to the human family. In like manner we may say that Melchisedec's blessing on Abraham was a blessing on all his descendants, and that Abraham's offering of tithes was an act of homage from the people of Israel to the priest of Salem. Therefore, in addressing Hebrews, who recognised the federal principle, and gloried in some of its applications, *e.g.* in being the people to whom belonged the covenants and the promises and the fathers, the writer of our epistle was justified in pressing this thought into the service of his argument, and so inviting his readers to open their minds to the truth

that, while within the race there were men bearing the title of priest, there was a higher priesthood, with reference to which these priests were simple laymen, paying tithes, doing homage thereto, receiving blessing therefrom, just like ordinary men.

The fourth argument seems the least cogent of all. Even the fact-basis of it may appear questionable. Melchisedec is described as a person testified to as living. Where is the testimony borne? Not in Psalm xc., for the statement there is made concerning Messiah, not concerning the historical Melchisedec. If it be supposed that the testimony is implicitly contained in the expression, the order of Melchisedec, that order having eternity for one of its attributes, we are still thrown back on the narrative in Genesis as the basis of that attribute, and therefore as the original source of the witness. But the witness of the history is not positive, but negative. The story does not say that Melchisedec continued to live; it simply omits to say that he died. We have here therefore another inference from the *silence* of Scripture. The meaning is, though the historical Melchisedec doubtless died, the Melchisedec of the sacred narrative does nothing but live. Stress is laid on the omission of all reference to the death of the priest of Salem to hint that the receiving of tithes from Abraham has significance for all time. The type is regarded as continuing to receive tithes from Abraham's descendants, because the antitype is entitled to receive tribute from all men of all generations. Under the Levitical system dying men received tithes, and when they died their claim died with them or was transmitted to their successors. The true Priest never dies, and therefore is ever able to save, and therefore ever also entitled to receive a Saviour's homage, the tithes of grateful love and faithful service.

I must not close this chapter without remarking on one feature in the "order of Melchisedec" which is conspicuous



by its absence, its universalism. Melchisedec, though priest of the most high God, did not belong to the Jewish race. The order of priesthood named after him ought therefore to exist, not for Jews only, but for humanity. The Priest after that order must be the great High Priest of mankind. The writer here, as throughout the epistle, is silent on this point, but doubtless he has it in his mind.

A. B. BRUCE.

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## ST. PAUL AND THE GALATIAN JUDAIZERS.

### II.

II. 11-14. The open rebuke which St. Paul addressed to St. Peter at Antioch is the only existing trace of personal collision between the two Apostles. He had been hitherto, with the one exception of St. Paul, the most prominent champion of Gentile freedom from the law. On three successive occasions, first at Cæsarea, then at Jerusalem upon his return, and again at the apostolic council, he had stood forward to vindicate the rights of the uncircumcised. But at Antioch the question was revived in a more insidious form. The right of Gentile converts to Christian baptism was no longer directly disputed after the decision of the council. But a fresh appeal was made to Jewish scruples on the plea of reverence for the law of uncleanness; it was represented that, though Gentile Christians were themselves free, yet Jewish Christians were forbidden by the law to associate with uncircumcised brethren. This was not, it appears, St. Peter's own view; but he first, and Barnabas after his example, were tempted in moments of weakness to yield so far to the prejudices of Jewish brethren as to withdraw from the free and unrestricted intercourse

which they had hitherto maintained with the whole body of brethren. By this course the unity of the Christian Church was seriously endangered; Christian baptism was placed below circumcision, as unable to cleanse its recipient; for uncircumcised Christians were treated as unclean; and a stamp of inferiority was set upon those who did not keep the whole law. This must have resulted in the division of Jewish and Gentile Christians into two mutually jealous, and probably hostile, camps. The danger was averted by the farsighted wisdom of St. Paul, and the outspoken rebuke which he addressed to his brother Apostle.

Its effect is not recorded; and some theologians have interpreted this silence as indicative of a permanent schism between the Petrine and Pauline parties in the Church. The continued co-operation of Paul and Barnabas during their stay at Antioch, and the terms in which he is mentioned in St. Paul's epistles after their agreement to work apart, evince the contrary. And this passage itself indicates how temporary was the vacillation of St. Peter; the imperfect tenses in ver. 12, *ὑπέστελλεν καὶ ἀφώριζεν*, denote some lack of firmness for the moment, rather than any new convictions or decisive change of principles or policy on his part. His timid and hesitating conduct wears the aspect of an unworthy concession to the strong prejudices of a partisan society. He was naturally anxious to preserve harmony in the Church of the circumcision, which had become his especial charge; and for peace' sake *he began to withdraw and separate himself* from the Gentile converts, without reflection on the fatal consequences of this separatist policy. When however the contagion of his example drew all the other Jewish converts, including even Barnabas himself, after him, and he was openly challenged by his brother Apostle, he must have seen his mistake and retraced his steps. Had it been otherwise, had he persisted in his course and become an avowed adherent to the views

of the Judaizers, the incident could never have found a place in this epistle; for it would have furnished them with the very handle which they desired against the Apostle. He maintained that there was "no other gospel of Christ" than his own. No answer could have been more effectual than to show that the foremost of the Twelve preached and practised a different gospel. It would have enabled them to set up the authority of a rival Apostle, and range themselves under the banner of St. Peter against St. Paul. This frank record of a difference at Antioch shows how fully St. Paul could still depend on the support of his brother Apostle.

ii. 11. According to our version, St. Paul vindicates his open rebuke of Cephas on the ground that "*he was to be blamed.*" But *κατεγνωσμένος* cannot possibly mean this; it signifies *condemned*, and that rather by the silent verdict of conscience or opinion than by any outward judgment (see 1 John iii. 20). It seems here to have the force of the middle voice; "*he had condemned himself,*" i.e. by the inconsistency of his own conduct, as the epistle proceeds to show.

ii. 13. The words *dissembled*, *dissimulation* do not give the exact force of *ὑπεκρίθησαν*, *ὑποκρίσει*. For their insincerity did not take the shape of suppression of the truth, but of hypocritical *pretences*; they professed scruples in regard to association with the uncircumcised, which were quite inconsistent with their previous conduct. It is therefore said that they *acted a part* (*ὑπεκρίθησαν*) before the Jerusalem brethren.

ii. 14. Our version taxes these Jewish Christians with "*not walking uprightly according to the truth of the gospel,*" as if they had been accused of not being upright in their own lives. The real charge is, that they were not straightforward in the views of truth which they conveyed to others; they were by their behaviour insinuating false doctrines. This

is the ground taken up by the ensuing rebuke. Cephas had been living as do the Gentiles; he had mixed freely with Gentile Christians, sharing their meals and taking part in their daily life: yet he was now treating them as unclean before his fresh companions, and so putting a pressure upon them to adopt Jewish habits (*Ἰουδαῖζειν*), to be circumcised and keep the law, though he had before admitted them to be entitled to the full privileges of Christian brethren. The expostulation with Cephas ends here; the ironical tone of the next sentence forbids its being taken as an address to a brother Apostle.

ii. 15, 16. The argument against the Galatian Judaizers follows without a break; for there was, in fact, no difference between them and the Judaizers at Antioch. Both alike pressed the claims of circumcision and legal observance as social obligations upon all Christians, though they could no longer enforce them as necessary to Christian baptism. The Apostle contrasts, with obvious irony, the arrogant tone of superiority, which they affected as *Jews by nature* over *sinners of the Gentiles*, with the humility which seeks to be justified through faith in Christ only, and renounces all hope of being justified by works. He further quotes Psalm cxliii. 2 (with slight verbal variations) in support of this principle. The use of ἐξ before the indefinite substantives ἐργων and πίστεως arises from good works and faith being viewed as a fund *out of* which are drawn pleas for justification before God. The phrase therefore denotes merely justification *upon* works, *upon* faith; that is to say, a justification based upon some kind of works, some kind of faith. It differs but little in sense from the alternative expressions ἐν νόμῳ, διὰ πίστεως, πίσκει, which are also used by St. Paul with the verb δικαιοῦν. But the absence of articles is important, as showing that the difference between the two methods of justification is a broad question of principle, applicable to every kind of obedience to any out-



ward law, and not restricted (as it is in our version) to the Mosaic law alone. The passage stands as a comprehensive principle, that man is justified by faith alone, and not by any legal works.

ii. 17, 18. Our version introduces here an emphatic interrogation (*ἄρα* . . .), "*Is Christ the minister of sin?*" But St. Paul never uses *ἄρα*,<sup>1</sup> while he does again and again conclude an argument with the simple *ἄρα*, *then*. It is used in ii. 21 and iii. 29 exactly as it is here. By this rendering the connexion with the previous verses becomes more simple and direct. It has been pointed out that the Jewish Christians, headed by Cephas himself, had long habitually transgressed the law by living with Gentile Christians in the closest communion; they had, in fact, as the direct consequence of their belief in Christ, brought themselves down to the level of men whom the law treated as sinful and unclean. Accordingly the Apostle argues, "*If through seeking to be justified in Christ we ourselves also were found sinners, then Christ was minister of sin*"—a truly monstrous suggestion. "*For*" (he adds) "*if I build again those things which I pulled down* (i.e. restore the authority of the law), *I do declare myself a transgressor.*"

ii. 19–21. The Apostle proceeds, in ver. 19, to explain why he had thus pulled down the authority of the law. "*I died to law* (not *I am dead*), *that I might live unto God.*" He had long lived to law; it had been his sole guide, the supreme authority for his life, it had been sovereign over his spirit, and he had placed all his hope of salvation in implicit obedience to it. But in a moment this dominion was overthrown; suddenly, as he saw Jesus in the way and heard

<sup>1</sup> In comparison with this decisive evidence of St. Paul's usage, the argument, that in the Epistle to the Romans *μή γένοιτο* repeatedly follows a previous question, has scarcely any weight. For the monstrous suggestions, which *μή γένοιτο* indignantly repudiates, are from the nature of the case most often introduced as questions; but they may with equal propriety form the conclusion of a false argument and be employed as a *reductio ad absurdum*.

His voice, the revelation of a new life flashed upon him ; and the whole man was changed. From that hour he knew no authority but the voice of God and the Spirit ; the hope of fuller life in Christ became his guiding star : while he died to law, to its obligation, its promises, and its penalties.

But now what is to be said of *διὰ νόμου*, translated in our version *through the law* ? Ingenious efforts have been made to explain those words by dwelling on the value of law as God's instrument for educating the conscience and leading men to Christ. Doubtless the law had been to Saul, as to other Jews, an educator unto Christ (iii. 24). But any such testimony to the previous value of law is utterly out of place in this verse. Law educates the conscience, but it does not liberate it also. That is Christ's own peculiar work. It was by no process of gradual education, but in a moment, by the sight and the voice of Christ, that Saul died to law and became for ever free from its bondage. The true explanation is to be sought in correct translation ; *διὰ* is not here instrumental, but expresses the condition in which Saul was at the time he died to law. In Romans ii. 27 *διὰ γράμματος κ. περιτομῆς* really means *under the letter and circumcision*, and in Romans iv. 11 *δι' ἀκροβυστίας* in a *state of uncircumcision*. So here the sense is, *For I, when under law, died to law*. Saul was still *under law*, a devout believer in its authority, and an ardent supporter of its claims, when Christ met him in the way, and the great spiritual revelation took place by which he died at once and for ever to law, and became wholly Christ's.

This truth he develops further in the words, "*I have been (not I am) crucified with Christ*"; Christ has made me partner in His death—as dead to law, as He became to all bonds of flesh by His own death upon the cross: "*I have a life, but it is no longer I that live, but Christ that liveth in me : what life I now have in the flesh, I live in faith of the Son of God. . . .*" To give up this life in Christ, and

seek again to be justified by legal works, would *make void the grace of God*, who gave him life in His Son: *for if righteousness came through law, then Christ died for nought.*

iii. 1-5. The Apostle protests against the folly of the Galatians in yielding to a malignant influence like that of an evil eye, after their own eyes had been so clearly enlightened to see the truth. He borrows a figure from the public notices of new laws posted up in the market-places of their cities, to remind them how plainly he had set before their eyes the doctrine of Christ crucified. The subject of *προεγράφη* must include *ἐσταυρωμένος*, as well as *Ἰησοῦς Χριστός*; for such official notices did not announce the mere name of a person, but some fact or rule of action. The crucifixion of Christ with its consequences to ourselves was the doctrine which he had proclaimed, and which they were now forgetting. Again, the words *ἐν ὑμῖν* appear to be a later addition to the text: if they were genuine, they must be taken in connexion with *προεγράφη*, not with *ἐσταυρωμένος*, as in our version.

In ver. 2 he appeals to their remembrance of the way in which they had received the Spirit of God: had it been the result of works done in conformity with law, or of listening in a spirit of faith?

In ver. 3 our version by its passive rendering, "*are ye made perfect?*" ignores at once the true meaning of *ἐπιτελεῖν* and the contrast between *ἐνάρχεσθαι*, to *begin* a work, and *ἐπιτελεῖν*, to *carry it out*; which occurs three times elsewhere in St. Paul's epistles (2 Cor. viii. 6, 11; Phil. i. 6). The active verb is there used because he is speaking of work to be carried on in others; the middle voice here, because it is in themselves: "*having begun in the Spirit, are ye now completing in the flesh?*"<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> The only other passage where the middle or passive forms of *ἐπιτελεῖν* occur in the New Testament is 1 Peter v. 9; there also the sense suggests to me the middle voice: "*Knowing that ye are completing the same sufferings as your*

In ver. 4 he reminds the Galatians of actual sufferings in time past: "*Did ye suffer so many things to no purpose? if it be indeed to no purpose.*" All record of these sufferings is lost: but since the second clause implies that they had been endured to no purpose, if the Judaizers succeeded in re-establishing the authority of the law, it appears that the Galatian Churches had been persecuted, like the neighbouring Churches of Lycaonia and Pisidia, by Jewish zealots, after their conversion, as unfaithful to the law; whereas now they were admitting that their earlier assertion of Christian independence had been an error.

iii. 6-14. Abraham was accepted for his faith: *ye perceive therefore that they which are of faith, the same are sons of Abraham.*<sup>1</sup> The Gentiles also were made sharers in the promised blessing (Gen. xii. 3, xviii. 18). Again, whereas the prophet said, *The righteous shall live by faith* (Hab. ii. 4), the law made life depend on obedience, cursed all who disobey, even pronounced a special curse on those who die the death of malefactors, as Christ died for us upon the cross.

iii. 15-22. The relation of the law to God's earlier promise is investigated:

1. That promise was a covenant. Now, even a man's covenant, once duly executed, is sacred: how much more must God's covenant be unalterable and irrevocable!

2. *To Abraham were the promises spoken, and to his seed. He saith not, And to his seeds.* The omission of the pronoun "*his*" in our version, though expressed in Greek by the article τοῖς, helps to disguise the meaning of a somewhat obscure expression. A contrast is pointed between Abraham's one seed of promise and his many children after the

*brethren in the world*"; i.e. completing the same work of suffering which your brethren have begun.

<sup>1</sup> I take γινώσκετε in ver. 7 to be certainly indicative. The emphatic imperative "*know*" could only have been expressed by the aor. imp. γνῶτε.



flesh. For all the children of Israel, however ungodly and unbelieving, even the children of Midian, Ishmael, or Esau, were numbered among the seeds of Abraham and claimed him as their father after the flesh. The Jews maintained that they were the seed of Abraham in whom the Gentiles should be blessed. No, it is said; you are amongst the seeds: but Christ is the real seed of promise in whom cometh the blessing. The same argument is repeated in Romans ix. 7, 8: "*Neither, because they are the seed of Abraham, are they all children: but, In Isaac shall thy seed be called. That is, they which are the children of the flesh, these are not the children of God; but the children of promise are counted for the seed.*" Isaac there represents the children of promise, whereas here Christ Himself is designated as the one chosen seed. It is not however thereby intended to exclude the members of Christ, or to limit the seed of Abraham to the unity of Christ's person. The unity is one of spirit, binding together in one body in Christ all true children of Abraham (defined in ver. 7 as *of faith*), all, in fact, who are in truth members of Christ as well as Christ Himself.

iii. 17-23. The relation of the law to the promise is further developed in the following verses, as is intimated by the introductory clause, *Now this I mean*. The argument of vers. 17, 18, that the law could not possibly make void God's earlier covenant, and that inheritance by law differs essentially from a gift by promise, is clear enough. What follows must be examined in detail. The specific purpose, for which the law was added, is described as τῶν παραβάσεων χάριν: our version makes this a mere deduction from the nature of law in the abstract, "*it was added because of transgressions.*" But this is clearly wrong; for *transgressions*, as distinct from sin, did not exist before the law; they are, in fact, the creation of law, as stated in Romans iv. 15, "Where no law is, there is no transgression." A more

exact translation brings out the real meaning of St. Paul: *It was added with a view to the transgressions which it forbids.* The actual contents of the law are taken as evidence of its intention; and rightly so. There can be no doubt that the sixth commandment, for instance, was directed against murder, the seventh against adultery, the eighth against theft, and so on. The same argument is repeated in 1 Timothy i. 9, "*Law is not made for a righteous man, but for the lawless and unruly, for the ungodly and sinners, for the unholy and profane, for murderers. . . .*"

Furthermore, the law was not intended for the seed of promise; it was a temporary dispensation, designed to deal with the children of Abraham after the flesh *till the seed should come to whom the promise hath been made.* Hence it took the form of positive command through the subordinate ministry of angels, with the further interposition of a mediator (*διαταγείς . . . μεσίτου*). It did not, like the promise, deal with Abraham's seed as children of God, to be brought near in heart to a loving Father, but as children of the flesh, to be restrained by fear from fleshly lusts and passions.

The translation of ver. 20 in our version, "*Now a mediator is not a mediator of one,*" suggests to the reader that the institution of a mediator belonged specially to the law—surely a strange doctrine to attribute to a Christian Apostle, and utterly inconsistent with the context, which has insisted strongly on the promise being a covenant (vers. 15, 17), which of necessity involves the idea of a mediator. There can, I think, be no doubt that St. Paul is speaking here not of *a mediator* in the abstract, but of *the mediator* just mentioned, *viz.* Moses; and that he contrasts the mediator of the law with the Mediator of the promise as not representing the one chosen seed, but all the children of Abraham after the flesh. He has still in mind the distinction which he drew in ver. 16 between the many seeds and the one seed: and *ένός* means here *ένός σπέρματος*,

just as τὰ πάντα in ver. 22 means τὰ πάντα σπέρματα.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly I translate ver. 20: *But the mediator* (i.e. of the law) *is not a mediator of one seed* (as the Mediator of the promise was shown to be), *but the God* (i.e. of the law) *is one and the same* with the God of Abraham who gave the promise. This interpretation of εἰς ὁ Θεός corresponds closely to its use in Romans iii. 30; both passages assert the essential unity of God, though manifesting Himself in different ways to different classes of men. The promise deals with the spiritual Israel, the law with a carnal Israel: therefore the two methods differ; but both proceed from one and the same God. The connexion with ver. 21 now becomes clear. *Is the law then against His promises?* (the words τοῦ Θεοῦ are unnecessary, and probably a later addition to the text.) Nay, by no means; for if a law had been given able to quicken spiritual life, righteousness would really have been by law. But the law could not quicken, and therefore could not justify before God: it was merely an authoritative command resting on fear; but by denouncing sin, and enforcing outward holiness, it prepared the way, that the promise might be given upon faith in Jesus Christ to them that believe. This it did by convicting the carnal Israel of sin. *The Scripture*, i.e. the law of God contained in the Old Testament, *shut up all under sin*. By *all* is not meant "*all things*," as rendered in the Revised Version, but all the children of Abraham after the flesh (τὰ πάντα σπέρματα); as is made clear by the next verse, where the Jews are said to be συγκλειόμενοι. "*But before the faith came, we were kept in ward under law, shut up unto the faith which was to be revealed.*" The Jews before Christ were as prisoners kept under the control of an external law, which forbade the indulgence of their fleshly

<sup>1</sup> Several of these points are fully argued with much force by Dr. Davidson in THE EXPOSITOR (vii., pp. 377-386) from his own point of view, which does not much differ from mine in regard to this verse.

lusts and passions. Our version obscures the meaning by the translation "*before faith came.*" For Abraham himself was faithful, and many of his children in every generation were men of faith; the date referred to by the Apostle here and in ver. 25 is the coming of *the* faith in Christ.

iii. 24.-iv. 11. The position of Israel under the law is further illustrated by the figure of a child; who, though eventual heir of all, is subject to the control of a household servant (*παιδαγωγός*), but in due time puts on the dress of manhood, and is entirely emancipated. So Christians are all now sons of God: at their baptism they all put on Christ, and were made wholly free; no further room was left for such distinctions as those of Jew and Greek, for all are now one in Christ. But Israel in earlier days of spiritual childhood was in bondage to the same elementary rules as the world (*τ. στοιχεῖα τ. κόσμου*), till the full time was come for their emancipation, and God sent His own Son to confer on them the full rights of adopted sons. Meanwhile the Galatians were slaves to idolatry; they too have been brought to know God and acknowledged by Him; why turn back to this childish bondage of ceremonies?

iv. 12-20. In ver. 12 the arbitrary introduction of a verb after *καὶ γὰρ* produces so strange a sentence, "*Be ye as I am, for I am as ye are, brethren, I beseech you,*" that our version has transposed the clauses in order to remedy it. To supply *ἐγενόμην* with *καὶ γὰρ* and interpret the clause, *I was once as ye are now*, does greater violence still to the original. The only rendering I can find consistent with the Greek text is to connect *καὶ γὰρ* with *δέομαι*. The whole passage then becomes clear: "Deal with me, as I with you; for I in my turn beseech you, as ye besought me: grant my prayer, as I granted yours." There had been a time when the Galatians were suppliants to St. Paul, as he now was to them: he had listened to them formerly; it is now his turn to present his petition, and throw himself upon their



love. The subsequent context now becomes intelligible. The mention of their petition carries back his mind to his last visit in A.D. 54, paid in consequence of their earnest desire. He marks that occasion by referring to his first visit in A.D. 51 or 52, as *the former time*, for he had been but those two times to Galatia. His first stay had been brief and reluctant; he had done scarcely anything then to earn their gratitude: on the contrary, his state of health might well have tempted them to reject him with utter loathing; yet, when he did return, they received him "as an angel, as Christ Jesus." The genius of the English language requires the pluperfect for rendering ἡδίκησατε and εὐηγγελισάμην, for in comparing two successive incidents of past time English employs a pluperfect, Greek an aorist. I render therefore: *Ye had done me no wrong* (i.e. the Galatians had not driven him away by persecution, as so many others had done; he might have stayed to preach the gospel, if he had chosen): *but ye know that it was owing to an infirmity of the flesh that I had preached the gospel unto you the former time: and ye did not, yielding to the temptation to you in my flesh, set me at naught or loathe me, but received me as an angel of God.* . . . Such had been his past experience: he had preached to them awhile during involuntary detention by a loathsome sickness; yet on his return they welcomed him with enthusiasm, congratulated themselves on the blessing of his coming, and would fain have plucked out their own eyes, and given them to him. With this treatment he contrasts their present estrangement, due to faithful speaking of the truth, and their preference for jealous rivals *who are minded* (he says) *to shut you out from me.* He pleads with them, as a mother with her little children, that he ought to be an object of proper affection (ζηλοῦσθαι ἐν καλῶ) at all times, and not only when he is present with them; and complains that he has again to travail for their spiritual birth: *I could wish,*

(or perhaps) *I had a mind* (he concludes), *to be present with you now, and to change my pen into my voice; for I am in despair over you.* The occasion of all that intense devotion on their part cannot have been his first visit when he arrived as an unknown stranger, but his second visit, when he was recognised as an Apostle of Christ. Nor did the estrangement begin then; for he ascribes it to the intrigues of rivals in his absence, and speaks of a renewed visit as the most hopeful remedy.

iv. 21-v. 1. The allegory which identifies Hagar and her children with the Jews as children of Abraham after the flesh, and Sarah and Isaac with Christians as the seed of promise, besides reviving the argument of iii. 7-29, gives occasion to proclaim the doctrine of Christian liberty. For according to the best authenticated reading of v. 1, lost sight of in our division of the chapters, it winds up, οὐκ ἐσμὲν παιδίσκης τέκνα, ἀλλὰ τῆς ἐλευθέρας τῇ ἐλευθ. ἡμᾶς Χρ. ἡλευθέρωσεν. *We are not children of a bondwoman; but Christ freed us with the freedom of the freewoman: stand fast therefore.*

v. 2-12. After urging the loss of Christian liberty entailed by the adoption of an ordinance of the flesh, like circumcision, he concludes his repudiation of this doctrine with words of bitter scorn: *Those who are subverting your faith will have actually to mutilate themselves*, like the priests of Cybele, who was the chief object of Gentile worship in Galatia. This seems the only possible interpretation of St. Paul's words. The etymology of ὀφελον and the future indicative which follows it show that it does not express a wish, as translated in our version, "*I would*," but scornfully indicates the obligation on these idolaters of circumcision to proceed to all the lengths of Gentile idolatry, if they were consistent with their own principles.

v. 13-24. Christian liberty itself is however subordinate to a Christian law of love (*by love be ye slaves one to*

another). The Spirit and the will of the flesh are two great antagonists, ever battling within us for the mastery: the contrast of their respective fruits makes a fit climax to a protest against the undue exaltation of a carnal ordinance like circumcision.

v. 25-vi. 10. But the life of the Spirit must be manifest in our practice;

1. In the banishment of personal rivalry and illwill (v. 26).

2. In considerate treatment of real offenders (vi. 1, 2).

3. In controlling suspicious tempers (vi. 3).

4. In self-examination and amendment (vi. 4).

5. In gratitude to teachers, and liberality to all men, specially Christians (vi. 6-10).

*καταρτίζετε*, in vi. 1, is rendered in our version "restore"; it really means *correct*, when used with reference to an offender. In Matthew iv. 21 the word is used in the homely sense of *mending* nets. *καί* after *ἐάν* (omitted in our version) suggests the contingency of a real trespass as distinguished from an imaginary. *If a man be really overtaken in a trespass, ye which are spiritual, correct such an one in the spirit of meekness.* In ver. 3 our version gives, "*If a man think himself to be something when he is nothing, he deceiveth himself*": which is no better than a truism, with little point in connexion with the context. I have already pointed out at ii. 6, that *δοκεῖ εἶναί τι* cannot mean the same as *δοκεῖ τι εἶναι*, but denotes, in fact, a disposition to find imaginary faults in others: which is the very danger suggested by ver. 1. This faultfinder deludes himself with sophistry (*φρεναπατᾷ ἑαυτόν*), while he lacks in reality the spirit of brotherly love. *φρεναπάται* is similarly applied in Titus i. 10, in conjunction with *ματαιολόγοι*, to vain displays of intellectual subtlety, made "specially by those of the circumcision." Pride of moral and religious superiority specially fostered this temper amidst the Judaizers. As for

μηδὲν ὧν, a slight early corruption of the text from ὅν to ὧν is so strongly suggested by the context, that I venture to give the translation of the verse with the reading μηδὲν ὅν : *For if a man thinks there is something amiss when there is nothing, he deludeth himself.*

Self-examination is the proper corrective to this temper, for it leads each man to glory in the discovery of his own faults instead of another's: and in this way each will bear his own burden; for whatever help we may render in bearing each other's loads (ver. 2), each must still amend his own faults.

vi. 11-18. The final summary of the argument, with its decisive condemnation of the motives, the practice, and the principles of the Judaizers, needs no comment here.

F. RENDALL.

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### THE PRODIGAL AND HIS BROTHER.

MOST of the evangelical Parables are, to a greater or less extent, not mere "parables from nature," but stories of human action; and for this reason they admit of external illustration, and give scope for analysis to an almost indefinite extent as regards the outward story, even before we begin to study their spiritual meaning and application. Human nature itself is a complex thing, and it manifests itself under social conditions still more complex; if the social conditions be those of a long past time, their history may need much study before the human action as conditioned by them can be understood.

For, while the human nature of the Parables is that of all time, the social conditions are those of Palestine at the Christian era. These were, indeed, when we understand them, less unlike those of other times and other countries



than we may think ; but they need to be understood, that we may appreciate the significance, whether of the likeness or of the difference. Thus, on the one hand, whatever the difficulties of the Parable of the Unjust Steward, the story is the more readily intelligible to us because the steward's *status* is that familiar in modern society. He is not a trusted slave like Joseph, but a free man, paid on a scale that secures his comfort and should secure his honesty ; if dishonest, he is liable, not to punishment at his master's discretion, but to the ruin that will come from dismissal "without a character." On the other hand, the story in St. Luke xix. of the nobleman who went abroad to receive a kingdom over his own countrymen is quite a natural one, in terms of the political state of the eastern border of the Roman empire in the first half of the first century ; but there has scarcely been any other age of which it would have been intelligible. And whereas the question arises in several parables, whether the human actions which are made images of the Divine are necessarily such as, in men, would be admirable or justifiable, in this case we are forced to think that they are not. In the historical event which suggested the story, we know that St. Joseph's sympathies—probably also those of St. Matthew and his readers—were on the side, not of the claimant of royalty, but of the citizens who would not have him to reign over them.

Thus even in that Parable where the pictures of human relations are simplest, and sure to be most tenderly felt, we may need to study the few hints given us of the legal and social state of things which the story presupposes. Abp. Trench remarks on the keen and cold way in which the younger son makes, in a quasi-legal formula, his demand for the "portion of goods that falleth to him" ; but when he wrote it was not generally understood, as it is or ought to be since the publication of Maine's *Ancient Law*, what

the demand meant and what was the legal effect of granting it. Primitive law had not the conception of a testament that was of force after men are dead, but of no strength at all while the testator liveth. Instead, it contemplated a man, when death was approaching or when his powers were failing, "dividing his living unto" his sons; or, if like Laertes he had only one, or, like Abraham, only one by a legitimate wife, "giving him all that he had." In either case, the father abdicated as completely as King Lear: only he retained, like him, a claim to honourable maintenance on the possessions that had been his own; and this was secured to him, if not by the spontaneous piety of his children, by their duty being so obvious, that there was no evading the sanctions whereby human and Divine law enforced it.

While this method of succession is the primitive one in both Aryan and Semitic society, so far as known to us, its development into the right of testation took place, no doubt, in different ways and at different rates in almost every several community. In Homeric Greece we hear how Peleus and Laertes<sup>1</sup> are exposed to wrong and contempt, while their sons and successors, who should and would have protected them, are dead or absent; but we hear little or nothing of why they abdicated in their sons' favour—Nestor did not, nor did Priam. But the laws and customs of historical Greece, and a few hints supplied by legend, suggest that under certain circumstances abdication may have been compulsory. Not only was it necessary for a king of the primitive type that he should have the vigour of body as well as of mind requisite for leading his people to battle. Even for a private and peaceable householder

<sup>1</sup> It is doubtful whether *Od.* xxiv. 205 sqq., where Laertes lives on an estate of his own, is reconcilable with xi. 187 sqq., or with ii. 98, 102, where, though not actually living in his son's house, he appears to be entirely dependent on its inmates. i. 189 sqq. will agree with either.

it was necessary, if he was to manage his own property, that he should know what he was doing; and we gather that dotage or senile imbecility was a good deal commoner, and began earlier, in ancient than in modern times. Thus in historical Athens legal means were provided by which a son could deprive an imbecile father of the control of his property, while public opinion was shocked if a son put the law in force, unless in an extreme case.

But as we approach the Christian era, Greek and, still more, Roman institutions have less analogy to Jewish and throw less light on them than in Homeric times, or even down to the sixth or fifth century B.C. And at the same time we have far less direct evidence of the practical customary law of the Jews during the five or six centuries that separate Nehemiah and Malachi from the Mishna than we have for earlier periods. And when we do come to the Mishna, we find in it not a system known to have been in practical operation, but one which doctrinaires held to have been *de jure* in operation a generation or two before their time. Doubtless it was not a novel invention of its redactors; but it is unknown to us how far it ever was put in ure. Still less have we the right to assume that such of its provisions as were practically obeyed had been in force from time immemorial.

Fortunately the longest and best, and the most accurately dated, of the few Jewish works which we have between the days of the prophets and of the rabbins throws a direct light on the legal question we are concerned with. It suggests that the development of the testament out of the abdication of the father was never thoroughly effected among the Jews, unless under Roman influence. The son of Sirach mentions indeed (iii. 13) the failure of a father's understanding as a not improbable trial to filial duty: but it is not in connexion with this that he discusses (xxxiii. 18-23, xxx. 27 sqq.) the question of the father's abdication of the

control of his property. On the contrary, the father whom he addresses is assumed (*v.* 18) to be a man of consideration and official position, quite competent to take care of himself; and he is exhorted to do so. When death is really imminent, no doubt, he will do well to "distribute his inheritance"; but he is warned "not to put off his shoes before he goes to bed." We can hardly doubt that the prejudice against making a will while in good health, which perhaps is hardly yet extinct, is a "survival" from the time when a will was a real abdication, and there was good reason for deferring it to the last moment.

But the affectionate father in the Parable trusts his sons more than the son of Sirach thought safe or wise; "and he divided unto them his living," as soon as either of them expressed a desire. Now we have already intimated that it is not necessary for the purposes of the Parable that his conduct should in all points be absolutely wise and right; but the general wisdom of the son of Sirach's advice does not prove that there may not have been considerations on the other side, to which, in individual cases, it was well to give weight. Here we may say that it was not likely that the household would go on peaceably, when one of its three chief members wanted it broken up. It was better to let the younger son have his separate "portion of goods," and hope the best of what he would do with it, than to keep him at home fretting against home restraints, and impatient, more or less consciously, for the time when his father should no longer be able to postpone "distributing his inheritance." Besides, it was a risk which could not be certainly avoided, that the father who postponed distribution to the last might after all die without having effected it; and Luke xii. 13 suggests that in such cases it was a fruitful subject of dispute between the co-heirs on what terms they should divide the as yet undivided inheritance, or whether they should not divide it at all, but



remain as joint owners, even as in their father's lifetime they had been joint occupants. St. Jude's grandsons in Hegesippus (*ap. Eus. H. E. III. xx.*) were thus joint owners of their little property; but unless brotherly affection was very strong, it is likely that division was the wiser course; and division, to be effected without dispute, required a divider whose judgment could not be challenged.

But whatever the father's reasons, sufficient or no, for granting the younger son's demand, we see that, when he says to the elder, "All that I have is thine," this is no mere affectionate figure of speech, no mere promise as to the future, but a statement literally and legally true. And if we realize this, it can hardly fail to affect favourably our estimate of the elder son's character. For it is plain that *he* does *not* realize it, that he neither feels himself, nor allows his father to feel, that the mastership of the household has passed from one to the other. The father gives orders and deals with everything as his own; the son, even when he complains of his father, still owns himself dependent on his father giving what, if he were less dutiful, it was in his own power to take. Even in his unbrotherly jealousy, it is for his father's rights that he is jealous: "This thy son," he says, ". . . hath devoured thy living. . . ." The undivided property ought, in his view, to have remained at the father's disposal; or, if it might be conceived that the younger son was justified in wanting to employ his (third?) part of it separately, he ought even so to have dealt with it, as the elder son did with the remainder, as being still the father's property in conscience, and subject to a contribution to his maintenance as a first charge.

Thus far we have dealt exclusively with the outward framework of the story; but as we proceed we shall find that the illustrations we have obtained for this are not without use for the appreciation of its spiritual lessons. Even here we get a confirmation and an illustration of the

view of those commentators who have seen in the prodigal's conduct two stages of apostasy : a covert one in the demand for the separate portion of goods, and an open one in the departure to a far country. The demand might conceivably have been made, not by a prodigal, nor even by an undutiful son, but by an aspiring man of business, who saw his way to serving his father better if he were allowed to do so at his own discretion ; it was the departure that proved that it was made in a really selfish and unfilial spirit.

But when we say that the son might conceivably have made from a good motive the demand which, as the event proved, he really made from a bad, perhaps we are less analysing the lesson of the Parable than pointing out the necessary inadequacy of the human relation to image the Divine. No earthly father is so wise, but that a grown up son may conceivably be right in thinking that he can manage things better than his father does ; in the spiritual family, the son is already a rebel who conceives the Father's perfect wisdom as open to question.

Yet here the practical difference is less than the theoretical. No one can doubt that the heavenly Father knows better than any of His children what is best for all of them ; but they may conceivably, and surely sometimes rightly, think that His will is more truly shown in their own capacities and impulses than in the pressure of external circumstance : so that choosing their own course, instead of accepting one chosen for them, shall appear an act of obedience, not of rebellion. Are we then to say that the son is not necessarily wrong who takes his separate portion of goods for his separate use, provided only that he continues to use them in the Father's service ?

Perhaps the human image, when well considered, will suggest the answer. A son who sees things ill managed in his father's house may be right in asking to be allowed to manage them himself ; but when things are going on well

enough, it is hardly the filial spirit to assert one's own judgment as to how they might be ordered better. In this household, even after the prodigal had carried off his portion, masters and servants still had enough and to spare; even if he had meant not to squander his portion, but to make a fortune with it for the common good, it does not follow that it was worth while to break up the family for that end.

And to this there is a real analogy among the children of God. Doubtless the greater a saint is the more will his life be regulated by the inward call which he feels in his heart, instead of merely following the path marked out by circumstances as the natural one for him; but the saintlier he is, the more will he feel—the more even will other men see—that he does what he does, not because he will, but because he must. The man who consciously chooses the career that best suits him is not the basest type of worldling, but neither is he the highest type of the child of God. It is not the same thing to say, "I see how this or that ought to be done, and I want to be free to do it," as to say, "I want to have this or that, to do as I like with": but the one temper is hardly more Christian than the other. The *heretical* spirit, the spirit that *chooses* for itself, is more akin than it may seem to the worldly or carnal spirit that *desires* for itself. Both alike say to the Father, "Father, give *me* the portion of goods that falleth to me"; though the one is not prepared, like the other, to go far away from the Father,—still less, like him, to squander instead of improving the portion he receives.

There is no need for us to follow the details of the prodigal's downward career; they are only too intelligible. The one point open to question is, what amount of gross vice is meant to be implied in it—how far *ἀσωτία*, in the language of St. Luke's day as of Aristotle's (*Eth. Nic.* IV. i. 3-5), suggested, if it did not necessarily imply, *ἀκολασία* also.

Certainly it is both intentional and significant, that the "harlots" spoken of by the elder brother are not mentioned in the narrative itself; that would run as it does if the prodigal were nothing worse than a prodigal—a fool soon parted from his money. But, true as it is that a Charles Surface or a Harold Skimpole is a meaner and more selfish character than he looks, we seem in the prodigal's repentance to find traces of his vices having been grosser and less capable of palliation than these. The question, in fact, while it has some human interest so far as it affects the outward story, becomes almost unmeaning when we come to the spiritual application. It is meaningless to ask, whether sins are spoken of that *only* waste the powers and endowments of the mind and spirit, or whether they are such sins as *also* degrade and pollute the spiritual nature. That pollution cannot be more forcibly described than as

"The expense of spirit in a waste of shame":

to waste spiritual gifts *is* to degrade the spiritual nature, it *is* to exhaust and profane the spiritual life, because spiritual gifts are not things external to and separable from the spirit, as bodily goods are from the body. At most, the silence of the story as to the degree of the prodigal's vice makes its lesson more comprehensive. As there are prodigals who excuse themselves, or are excused, on the plea that they are no man's enemy but their own, so not a few people claim the right to live an aimless and useless life, if it be only a harmless and decent one. The man in another parable buried his talent, and brought it back as he received it; but what these people do with their lives and capacities is to fritter them away, and then claim credit for having spent them innocently. Such people ought to realize that they are not only unprofitable servants, but "prodigal" even if not "intemperate" sons.

Passing on to the first motions of the prodigal's repent-



ance, we learn not to be too exacting in our notions of what an acceptable repentance must be. His repentance is thoroughly genuine; his confession, "Father, I have sinned against heaven and before thee," is just what a sinner's confession ought to be. For it is not meaningless, that in the outward narrative he is made to acknowledge his sin in its double aspect, against God and his father, though in the interpretation of the Parable these are the same. A true penitent would, under the circumstances, feel and confess his sin in both its aspects; and the prodigal is made to do so, that we may recognise his repentance as true. And yet his motive for repentance is not a very exalted one. His sin began with his caring, not for his father or his father's love, but for "the portion of goods" that he could get out of him. Now his repentance begins with his hungering, not for the love of home in contrast with the heartless selfishness of boon companions turned to strangers or oppressors, but for the "bread enough and to spare" which he who was here perishing with hunger had left behind at home. With his real contrition, "I am no more worthy to be called thy son," goes the petition, not for love but for maintenance, "Make me as one of thy hired servants."

These last words, as every one knows, he did not repeat when on his return he found himself prevented by his father's love. He does not repeat them, that is, according to the text of the parable which the Church at large has received; but it is proved by MS. evidence that the clause was repeated in one of the earliest and, in general, purest of the forms in which St. Luke's text was current; and not only so, but the text with the repetition retained its currency to a later date and over a wider area than happened with many of such old but incredible readings. For it really is not rash to pronounce it incredible. Strong as is its external attestation, "intrinsic" and "transcriptional"

probability are alike against it. That the latter is so is plain enough: the presumption is generally for the shorter reading against the longer; it is almost always for the differentiation of parallel passages against their assimilation. But it seems as though it were the height of rashness to pronounce confidently on the "intrinsic" probability, to undertake to say what St. Luke must or could not have written, or rather—for it comes to this—what the Lord must or could not have said. Yet if the Church be divinely ordained as "a witness and keeper of Holy Writ," we have something surer than our own subjective feelings to guide us, when we observe what is the text that she reads in her daily use, and what perfect fitness is found in it by all her children, from the wisest commentators to the simplest untrained readers. We dare not guess what the Lord would be likely to say, where evidence fails of what He did say; but there is no rashness but reverence in believing that

"Through the veil the Spouse can see, *for her heart is as His own.*"

In truth, we find ourselves here in what may be almost called the fundamental doctrine, as of the Gospel at large, so of this *Evangelium in Evangelio*. When the prodigal came home and found his father's love waiting ready for him, he learnt what he had never learnt till then—that it is the father's love, not his inheritance, that gives the son pre-eminence over the servant. Unworthy as he was to be called his father's son, yet he was so: even as it is written (in a place where criticism does help us more than usage to discern the full mind of the Spirit), "Behold what manner of love the Father hath bestowed upon us, that we should be called the children of God: *and we are*" (1 John iii. 1). But for this very reason—because the fatherly love secured to him a title higher than a servant's—we may say that there was a certain justice in the son's request for a servant's portion: so that Christians who inherited what

we regard as an interpolated text may yet have been able to glean a true meaning from it. When the prodigal turned his back on his filial duty and his father's love, he got the son's portion of goods: now he received the father's love as before, and valued it as never before; but he had no longer the right to ask for gifts such as a father might give a son, only for such hire as a labourer is worthy of. He had had his portion of the father's goods already, and what remained was not his inheritance,<sup>1</sup> but his elder brother's: only if he worked faithfully for his father, he would have bread enough and to spare, instead of the starvation wages given by the citizen of the far country.

And if the prodigal's reformation consists in this, that he learns to desire not his father's gifts but himself, so the elder brother's danger of apostasy lies in the converse process—that he is not satisfied with the father's presence and his love, but murmurs at the withholding of his gifts. Again we leave the question open, whether the human image is adequate to the spiritual truth signified. No earthly parent is a worthy object or a perfect satisfaction for all the desires or aspirations of even the most dutiful child: and a modern moralist may be apt to say, that a parent should recognise and act on this knowledge of his own imperfection,—that here the father would have done more wisely and kindly, if he had encouraged the son who never transgressed his commandment sometimes to make merry with his friends, with his father's sanction, but without his presence. It may even be said, that the heavenly Father does this: that lawful and innocent pleasures, which yet are pleasures of the world and of the flesh—things which we ask God's blessing on, which we thank Him for giving

<sup>1</sup> What the father does give him—the ring, shoes, and robe—are obviously things which would be at his personal disposal, not parts of the family estate. This we may say without prejudice to the question, whether the details of these gifts have any special spiritual meaning or not.

us, and which yet it is not a religious act to enjoy, but rather it is impossible consciously to remember God in the very moment of enjoyment—that these are the *kid* which He gives us to make merry with.

If we were to press this point, we might say that the elder brother is the picture of a bigoted ascetic—a man who thinks, perhaps rightly, that he is called to an austere life, and is jealous of the admission that any one—especially a penitent—who lives less austere can be a true child of God. Or more generally, we might say that he is one of those “*rakes at heart*,” who believe profligacy to be really synonymous with pleasure, and regard their own abstinence from profligacy as a renunciation of pleasure: so that he is ready to charge God with forbidding him pleasure which He has not forbidden, because He has forbidden him the profligacy which in the end becomes pleasureless. But such suggestions, though perhaps not quite unworthy of attention if they occur to us, can hardly claim to be regarded as legitimate deductions from the Parable. According to all that the story says, the facts are as the elder son states them, and we have to assume for the purposes of the Parable—what perhaps is not as much against reason as it is out of fashion—the older, sterner view of a father’s duty; that though he has neither Divine wisdom to direct his children, nor Divine perfection to reward them, yet he has, as a Divine representative, a Divine right to what he claims from them, without admitting counter claims on their part.

But if we have not to argue whether the father is in all points a kind or judicious father, we cannot waive the question whether we are to regard the elder son as a really dutiful son. We have already rejected the severest view sometimes taken of him: when he says, “*Lo, these many years do I serve thee, neither transgressed I at any time thy commandment,*” we have no right to doubt the truth of his words, nor even to brand the many years’ service



as heartless or unloving. Only we see that it is in danger to become so now: his uncharitable temper towards his brother leads him into a rebellious attitude towards his father, which is all the more significant, the more opposed it is to his conduct towards him hitherto. Hitherto he has served his father, has (as we said) neither felt nor let him feel that he has become owner of his father's goods: now he speaks as though some grudgingly given share in his father's goods were more to him than his father himself.

But it does not follow that the unfilial temper is fully developed, because it is seen naturally to arise out of the unbrotherly. The father's reply is, "Son, thou art ever *with me*"—that is still the reward for his service that he cares for, more than "all that I have is thine." "If any man say, I love God, and hateth his brother, he is a liar": but dare we say that any man's love to God is proved to be no more than hypocrisy, if his love towards some of his brethren is very grudging and imperfect? When we say that charity towards the sinful is one of the highest of Christian graces, we rather imply than exclude the possibility, that a man who has not this grace may yet have some Christian graces, real though short of the highest. It has been wisely said in our own time,—

"The world will not believe a man repents,  
And this wise world of ours is mainly right."

To recognise true repentance—to believe that repentance, as yet untested, may be true—is a transcending or even a defiance of experience, which proves a formed habit of walking by faith, not by sight. He who has attained to this has walked with God, has known the fellowship of the sufferings of the Son of God: but it would be a new form of uncharitableness to say, that he who has not attained to it hath not seen God neither known God. Wonderful and admirable it is, to see how the purest souls are most for-

bearing with those who have fallen into the sins farthest from their own nature: but if this is wonderful, must we not tolerate as natural infirmity the hardness which grows in those who have felt and overcome temptation towards those who have yielded to it? Shakespeare's Isabella is an immeasurably higher ideal than Tom Tulliver; but it were well for the world if there were no worse men in it than he. Let us not be content with thanking God that we are not as other men are—self-satisfied, self-righteous, or even as this Pharisee: but rather implore the infinite Love to forgive us all our offences—misdoings and misjudgments alike—against one another as well as against itself. If we learn each to realize and to return the love of the universal Father, then what is unlovely in each of us is in the way to die out; and then we shall none of us be extreme to mark in his brother what traces of the unlovely temper may as yet remain.

W. H. SIMCOX.

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### ANCIENT CELTIC EXPOSITORS.

#### COLUMBANUS AND HIS TEACHING.

THE existence of Greek and Hebrew learning and philosophy in the islands of the Western Ocean has hitherto formed a curious problem. In my last paper, wherein I dealt with the library of the great Celtic missionary whose name heads this article, I offered several clear proofs of that learning; while again as to the sources of it, I think they are far from mysterious, but are easily explained when viewed in connexion with the whole range and movement of monasticism. The monks in their original idea, as established in Egypt, were essentially solitaries. Their one object at first was to get away as far as possible from mankind. With this end in view they fled into the Nitrian

desert, and then ever afterwards persistently bent their course westwards. In Jerome's age they swarmed in the islands of the Adriatic and Tuscan Sea. A contemporary pagan poet, Rutilius, in his *Itinerary* from Rome into Gaul, written about the year 420 A.D., is very hard upon those whom he describes as inhabiting the isle Capraria, one of the Balearic group. He pictures them as shunning the light, as solitaries hating human society and the gifts of fortune, throwing in this poem a most interesting light upon monasticism as viewed from the heathen standpoint of the fifth century.

“Processu pelagi jam se Capraria tollit,  
Squallet lucifugis insula plena viris.  
Ipsi se monachos graio cognomine dicunt,  
Quod soli nullo vivere teste volunt.”<sup>1</sup>

Human society was indeed for the monks an enemy to be diligently avoided. This desire drove them farther and farther towards the West. St. Patrick introduced monasticism to Ireland, and this same impulse led them half a century later than Rutilius, that is, by the year 500, to the islands scattered along the west coast of Ireland, to the Skelligs off the Kerry coast, and to Arran Islands, thirty miles outside Galway, spots even now but seldom visited. The apocryphal *Acts of St. Brendan* the navigator, the founder of Clonfert, are genuine in this respect, they depict the monks of his age as seeking the most inaccessible abodes.<sup>2</sup> The genuine history of St. Columba by Adamnan and the

<sup>1</sup> See Zumpt's edition of the Poem, Berlin, 1840, lines 439-450. This poem is worth study as illustrating the struggles of paganism in the fifth century. The history of expiring Roman and Greek paganism has never been fully investigated. The question, how long did the worship of Jupiter and of the other Olympian deities survive, would furnish an interesting subject for an ambitious scholar, young and vigorous. Are there even still any remnants of that worship, as there are relics of ancient Manicheism amid the recesses of the Balkan peninsula?

<sup>2</sup> These *Acts* are very curious. They were published by Cardinal Moran when Roman Catholic bishop of Ossory.

life of Columbanus tell us how the monks of the sixth century and of the seventh still retained their ancient spirit. Columba demanded from Brude, king of the Picts, protection for his followers, who, not satisfied with Iona, had gone seeking a more deserted spot still in the distant Orkneys, while Columbanus, and afterwards Cuthbert at Lindisfarne, died in deserts or solitary cells away from human habitations. The course of monasticism, to adopt the celebrated language of Berkeley, ever westward holds its way, and it is still a moot question, whether some early Irish monks may not have penetrated by way of Iceland to America, ages before Columbus went there. The original impulse never suspended its force till the reaction began, and back from the borders of the Atlantic, the monastic missionaries returned to evangelize Central and Southern Europe, lying sunk in barbarian ignorance and idolatry. The problem to be solved does not now seem so difficult. In the fifth century the monks pressed westward in search of safe and solitary habitations, bringing their books—Latin, Greek, Hebrew<sup>1</sup>—with them. There they lay secure and unknown while the floods of barbarian invasion overflowed the fairest plains of Gaul and Italy. Is it any wonder that two centuries later we find their descendants still possessing their books and their learning, which they carried back to Bobbio, to Reichenau, and to St. Gall?<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Hebrew was known to the ancient Irish scholars of the sixth century. Ussher mentions a Saint Cumian, who lived about A.D. 600, on Lough Derg, one of the great lakes of the Shannon. Ussher tells us that Cumian had a psalter—a part of which he had himself seen, with a collation of the Hebrew text on the upper part of the page, and short notes on the lower portion. (See Ussher, *Works* vi. 544, Elrington's edition.)

<sup>2</sup> In the *Academy* of Sept. 1st Professor Sanday has again opened the question as to the channel through which a knowledge of Greek came to Ireland. He seems to regard it as an accidental importation some time in the sixth or seventh centuries. I regard it as a survival from the early Gallican missionaries who laboured there in the fifth. John Cassian, St. Abraham, and numerous other Greek and Hebrew scholars from Nitria and Syria lived in Gaul in that century. Cassian's works were well known and popular in Ireland



We are not without some specimens of the expositions produced by these monastic missionaries. Columbanus studied in Ireland under two famous teachers, first at the school of Cluain Inis (Cleenish) in Lough Erne, under a certain St. Sinellus, and subsequently under St. Comgall at Bangor. Through St. Sinell he is connected with the erudition and culture of the ancient British Church, as the teacher of Sinell was St. Finian, the disciple of SS. David and Gildas at Menevia or St. David's in Wales,<sup>1</sup> for the doctrine and discipline of the whole Celtic Church, whether in Great Britain or Ireland, were then one and undivided. Under St. Sinell, and amid the charming surroundings and manifold windings of Lough Erne, Columbanus devoted himself to the composition of a Commentary on the Psalms, which still remains in existence, though it has never been printed in full. He must have been then a very young man. His biography was composed a few years after the death of Columbanus by a monk named Jonas, who was a boy when Columbanus was an old man. Jonas had every

and Wales. Why should not their disciples from Lerins and elsewhere have carried a knowledge of Greek to Menevia, to Clonard, and to Bangor? I have pointed out various other facts bearing on this point in *Ireland and the Celtic Church*. Greek and Hebrew were abundant in France in A.D. 450. In 500 or soon after, they are found in Ireland. The transition seems to me easy and simple enough.

<sup>1</sup> Cardinal Moran published in 1872 the *Acta S. Brendani*, the founder of Clonfert, to whom I have above referred. Among these documents is the "Vita S. Brendani," taken out of the *Liber Kilkenniensis* in Marsh's Library, Dublin. On p. 13 occur the following words, showing that the Welsh school of St. Gildas knew Greek: "Et habebat sanctus Gildas Missalum librum scriptum Græcis literis, et possitus est ille liber super altare." Ussher, *Opp.* (Elrington's ed.) t. iv., p. 462, mentions a Greek named Dobda, who accompanied St. Virgil to Saltzburg from Ireland in the eighth century. Virgil lived at Aghabo in the Queen's County, where his Greek friend found him out. The presence of this Greek in Ireland is easily explained by the violent persecution just then—the middle of the eighth century—proceeding against the Eastern monks at the hands of the Emperor Constantine Copronymus. (See my *Ireland and the Celtic Church*, pp. 219, 246, 247.) Virgil, it will be remembered, was the first Irishman to maintain the earth's sphericity and the existence of the antipodes, for which he narrowly escaped Papal condemnation. (See Virgilius (2) in the *Dictionary of Christian Biography*.)

opportunity of learning the facts, as he was a member of his hero's own monastery of Bobbio, entering it just three years after the death of St. Columbanus. In this authorized biography we are informed that "the treasures of the Holy Scriptures were so laid up within the heart of Columbanus, that within the compass of his youthful years he set forth an elegant exposition of the Book of Psalms." It is not only elegant, it is also learned. It begins with an extract from Jerome's preface discussing the alleged division of the Psalter into five distinct books, and then proceeds to comment on the various psalms in order. Before we give a few specimens of this commentary, first let us realize the facts. Here we have a commentary written by Columbanus, when at the very utmost twenty-five years of age, for surely a more advanced age cannot be reconciled with the words of his biographer,<sup>1</sup> "*intra adolescentiæ ætatem*" as regards the period of his life when the work under consideration was composed. Probably indeed Columbanus was much younger; but still even taking the later age, we must presume a wonderful knowledge of sacred learning and literature as existing in the school of St. Sinell, amid the mountains of Fermanagh and Donegal, when this commentary could be there produced by a young student in the year 568. St. Sinell himself must have been a fine scholar. Bad masters, incompetent teachers, seldom produce first-rate pupils. It was one of the wisest sayings of Dr. Arnold that when a man ceased to read, he ceased to be fit to teach; a dictum which, if acted out in our schools, colleges, and universities, would put to flight whole coveys of incompetents who are now only hindrances not helps to learning. St. Sinell must have been a diligent teacher and

<sup>1</sup> The exact words of Jonas are, "*Tantum Columbani in pectore divinarum thesauri Scripturarum conditi tenebantur, ut intra adolescentiæ ætatem detentus psalmsorum librum elimato sermone exponeret; multaue alia, quæ vel ad cantum digna vel ad docendum utilia condidit dicta.*"—Fleming's *Collectanea Sacra*, p. 219.

learned scholar, well read in the Fathers and in classical studies, when his scholars were so learned and so mentally active. And then arguing backwards, we may conclude that Sinell's teacher at Clonard, St. Finnian, the tutor of Columba and of the twelve apostles of Ireland, of Kierar, of Clonmacnois, of Ruodan of Lorrha, and many others whose memory is still fresh, must have been a thorough scholar to have produced so many disciples, burning as Columba did with literary zeal. And then working still farther back, we can only conclude that Gildas and St. David, the original source of all this literary succession, and the school of Menevia, must have been a very well equipped, a very thoroughly organized, and a very active and enthusiastic body of workers in the region of sacred and secular literature some time about the year 500 A.D. This may seem a large structure to build upon the foundation of a single manuscript still existing in the Ambrosian Library at Milan, but we think our conclusion perfectly fair, logical, and scientific. Nay, we would put forward the theory, that were the remains of Celtic literature, sacred and secular, alike, duly treated in a scientific manner; if they were viewed, not merely as means for supplying correct texts of Scripture and furnishing materials for Irish lexicons—two very valuable uses indeed, yet not the only uses of those manuscripts, but if they were viewed from the standpoint of the scientific historian, they might be made to throw unexpected light upon the dark places of Celtic history. Celtic literature is fortunate in possessing several libraries like St. Gall and Bobbio, remaining or practically remaining *in situ*, having ancient catalogues and a clear, undoubted history since their foundation. These libraries contain some of the most ancient books anywhere found, with the exception of the Egyptian manuscripts. The specimens of Celtic learning which remain in them should be treated as a geologist treats a fossil, or an archæologist an inscription or

an arrow-head. Their position, place of discovery, their surroundings, their age, every circumstance about them, should be carefully noted, and then, working backwards, with the help of history much might be done towards the illumination of a very interesting, though a very obscure period.<sup>1</sup>

Now as to the subject matter of this Commentary of Columbanus on the Psalter. The exposition of the first psalm has been printed by Zeuss, *Grammatica Celtica*, p. 1043. I shall just give an outline of it. Columbanus first discusses the person concerning whom the psalm was composed; who in fact was the "Blessed Man" referred to in the opening words? Some maintained that it was King Jehoash, who had been brought up by Jehoiada the high priest, and meditated in God's law day and night so long as his guardian lived. This view he rejects, on the ground that a man could not be pronounced blessed, and therefore free from all error towards God, who did not put away the high places, but allowed the people to sacrifice there, as the Book of Kings expressly testifies. But this was not the only sin of Jehoash. The same Scripture testifies that when Hazael came up to attack Jerusalem, Jehoash diverted him from his purpose by a gift of the hallowed treasures which his forefathers had offered to Jehovah. Could the prophet David, speaking by Divine inspiration, pronounce, even be-

<sup>1</sup> My idea is, that an attempt should be made to determine what particular works were left behind them by Columbanus, St. Gall, and their companions. This will show the state of learning at Bangor, near Belfast, in the sixth century. If any of the copies of Priscian and Donatus with Celtic glosses can be traced to them, this will prove the state of grammatical studies at that seminary when St. Comgall presided over it. Dungal, an Irish monk of Charlemagne's day, gave books to Bobbio; Marcus, an Irish bishop, some fifty years later, gave others to St. Gall's library. These they must have brought with them from Ireland. They are evidences then as to the state of Irish learning in the ninth century. Sedulius has left us a Greek psalter, which Montfaucon saw and describes, giving us a specimen of the handwriting of Sedulius, in his *Palæographia Græca*, iii. 7, p. 236. Hence we may form a sound conclusion as to the state of Greek studies in the monastery of Kildare in the same ninth century. The reader may also consult the *Revue Celtique*, tome i., p. 264, for another proof of the same.



forehand, a man blessed who could thus despoil the temple and present its treasures to an unbelieving idolater. It is a moral psalm, in which the author treats concerning a search after virtue and an abstinence from vice which does not fit Jehoash. For during the time when he was a little boy and educated by the high priest Jehoiada, he could not be said to have abstained from vice by his own free will, nor to have sedulously, consciously, and of free choice meditated in the Divine law, seeing that he was wholly subject to the will of another. There are two things which lead a man to blessedness: sound faith, which conducts a man to right views of God; and sound practice, which induces to a pious life. Neither avails without the other; the one completes and accompanies the other. Faith indeed holds the chief place, as the head holds the more honourable position among the members of the body. But as the close union of the members is necessary to the perfection of man's body, so faith and practice concur to the perfection of man's life. Columbanus then enlarges upon the various relations between faith and works. But soon checks himself, saying: "Yet we must remember that brevity which we promised at the preface. For we shall aim in the present psalm and in all that follow to set forth a concise explanation, since it is not our design to expound every point at great length, but in a summary manner to touch upon the leading heads, leaving to other expositors to pursue the subject with greater minuteness."

These last words seem to indicate that Columbanus wrote his commentary for the purpose of assisting preachers—a kind of pulpit promptuary in fact—and indeed this idea is supported by the vast quantity of Celtic glosses written over and beside the Latin text which the manuscript contains. The preachers of that age evidently took the Latin text of the Scripture into the pulpit, reading out first of all the passage in Latin, as Bishop Andrewes al-

ways did in his discourses to the people, and then adding the sense in the Irish language. So too in the case of this commentary: it was evidently read in public in the Latin tongue, the preacher giving the sense as he went along, enlarging upon such points as needed exposition and fuller treatment, and finding in these glosses the hints needful where two languages are used in popular extemporary addresses.

The remainder of our Saint's exposition of the first Psalm becomes somewhat prolix when judged from our modern standpoint. Still, I am bound to say his distinctions are much more reasonable and much less of a hair-splitting character than are often heard from preachers of the present day. He distinguishes between the ungodly man and sinners. The ungodly man (*impius*) is one who has not a right faith; the sinner is one who, having a knowledge of God, departs from the paths of virtue. He enlarges upon and explains the terms "walked," stood," and "sat in the seat of the scornful," as expressions descriptive of mental states derived from bodily actions. He regards "sitting in the seat of the scornful" as indicating the worst spiritual estate, when "the soul comes to rest and delight itself in wickedness," and without shame chooses as its special friends those of like character. He then reverses the picture, and shows how that man is truly blessed whose pleasure is in God's law, because he not only abstains from evil, but strives to conform himself to the Divine likeness. The commentary on this first Psalm terminates with a comparison between the ends of the just and of the ungodly. A difficulty here arises. The prophet says "the ungodly shall not stand in the judgment, nor sinners in the congregation of the righteous." Will there then be no resurrection for the wicked? His explanation is ready, however. The psalm does not deny the resurrection of the wicked, but merely asserts they shall not stand in the judgment. They will rise, but will be immediately sentenced and

hurried away to their own place, while the righteous will abide God's examination, and in the face of assembled worlds stand and be monuments of His saving grace.

The exposition of the second Psalm is even more interesting as a specimen of the Messianic applications prevalent among the ancient Celts. We can now merely summarise it. In the second Psalm Columbanus teaches that David sketches our Lord's passion and the subsequent triumph of His resurrection. If any one doubts the application of this Psalm to Christ, Columbanus thinks his doubts should be set at rest by St. Peter's quotations in the fourth chapter of the Acts, noting at the same time the attempts made by the Jews to evade its Christian application by interpreting its language as referring to Zerubbabel and to David himself. He shows a wide learning and knowledge of Jewish customs. Expounding the 69th Psalm and the 29th verse, "Let them be wiped out of the book of the living," he notes that it was an ancient custom among the Jews to write in a book the names of distinguished men,—not only those who were alive, but also that were dead as well,—which custom was preserved in the diptychs of the Christian Church. In connexion with the 110th Psalm, "The Lord said unto my Lord, Dixit Dominus Domino Meo," he asserts that in the Hebrew text the name which is called Tetragrammaton<sup>1</sup> (יהוה or Jahveh), by which pure Divinity is expressed, is used for Dominus and Domino alike. Whence he concludes that it cannot be understood of a human being, but is applied to Christ, who is true God and Lord of all.<sup>2</sup> These extracts must suffice as far as the Commentary on the Psalms is concerned. They

<sup>1</sup> The early opponents of Christianity held that it was by the use of the Tetragrammaton יהוה the miracles of our Lord were wrought.

<sup>2</sup> The Hebrew text can scarcely have been consulted by Columbanus on this point, as the first Dominus is represented by Jahveh, the second by Adonai, in the original. Both however are Divine names, the former representing simple Deity, the latter Deity revealing itself. See Buxtorf, *s.v.*

prove that St. Columbanus had a strong and vigorous grasp of the Scriptures. We cannot indeed expect him to be a modern in tone. He was but a man, and therefore was affected by the spirit of his times. But his commentary was much superior to the majority of those produced in his age and period. They were mere *catenæ*, strings of extracts from older authors without an original thought in an acre of writing. Our Celtic commentator is learned, original, thoughtful, and spiritual withal, without lapsing into talk that is merely goody-goody and canting.

Columbanus produced other works of a similar character which represent monastic preaching as it was exercised at Bobbio and his other foundations. There are in his collected works seventeen sermons or instructions delivered to the monastic brethren. They are not popular discourses, they are all intensely spiritual and intensely scriptural. There is not one of them which might not now be taken and delivered as a meditation or an instruction in the spiritual life during a clerical retreat or quiet day, or at a Methodist revival. The one dominant note which runs through them all is this: contempt of the world, the fashion of this world passeth away, a very useful and a very necessary thought in every age and country. These sermons build themselves on the Eternal Rock, like the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and all other scriptural teaching. They begin with God. The first sermon has for its title, "Concerning God one and threefold, *De Deo Uno et Trino*"; then follow in order discourses on mortification, on contempt of the world, on love of heaven, on earthly existence, which is not life but a road,<sup>1</sup> on the present life considered as a shadow, on hastening to our heavenly fatherland, concerning the last judgment, on the love of God, on Jesus Christ the Living Fountain, and

<sup>1</sup> There is a slight attempt at a pun in the title of this sermon, impossible to render into English: "*Quod præsens vita non sit dicenda vita, sed via.*"



many others, whose titles are of the same type and character. An extract or two will give an adequate idea of the teaching of these sermons. They have for the most part no texts, after our present formal style. But they almost always quote some passage of Holy Scripture on which they base themselves, after a few preliminary observations. They follow however no certain rule on this point, as one of them, the eleventh, treating of the love of God, begins according to our modern fashion with a text thus, "Moses wrote in the law, God made man in His image and likeness," upon which Columbanus founded a vigorous appeal for bodily sanctity, based on the fact of this gift of the Divine Image, and following much the same line as that adopted by St. Paul in the sixth chapter of First Corinthians. "Consider I pray you the dignity of this saying. The Omnipotent God, invisible, incomprehensible, indescribable, inestimable, forming man out of the dust, has endowed him with the dignity of His image. Great is the dignity, since God has given man the image of His eternity and the likeness of His character. This Divine Image is a great dignity, if it be preserved pure. Great, on the other hand, is the loss if it be desecrated. For that which man has received from the breath of God, if it shall be turned to the opposite purposes, and its blessings be contaminated, then he corrupts and destroys the likeness of God so far as he can. But if the virtues sown in the soul be used aright, then man will be like God. Whatever virtues God has sown in our spirits in their primitive condition, He has taught us by His commandments to return to Him. This is the first commandment, Thou shalt love the Lord our God with the whole heart, because He first loved us, from the very beginning, and before that we came into existence. Now the love of God is the renewal of His Image; and that man loves God who keeps His commandments, according to His own saying, 'If ye love Me, keep My commandments.'

And this is His commandment, that we should love one another." Whence he proceeds to warn against pride, anger, lying, and uncharitable language as breaches and defilements of the Divine Image. The thirteenth sermon, on Jesus Christ the Living Fountain, on coming to Him and drinking from Him, is conceived in a highly mystical strain. It reminds one very much of the *Imitation* and of the rapturous language of a Thauler or of a George Fox. In this sermon he speaks of Christ as the true bread and the true wine of the soul, and yet he makes not a single reference to the Eucharist, a connexion in which a modern divine of any school would have been certain to treat of that subject in one direction or another. This does not imply that the theology of Columbanus was not what is usually called sacramental, for it was most decidedly so. But it simply means that Columbanus in his sermon took that high point of view in which rapt and mystical souls delight, when they contemplate the Eternal Word, Christ Jesus, as He exists in and by Himself apart from all means, instrumentalities, and ministries whatsoever; when their enthusiastic song, their abounding love, finds its fittest utterance in that ancient strain of God's Holy Catholic Church—so profound, so unselfish, so utterly abstracted from every secondary consideration: "We praise Thee, we bless Thee, we worship Thee, we glorify Thee, we give thanks to Thee for Thy great glory, O Lord God, heavenly King, God the Father Almighty." Columbanus delights in the spirit of this ancient strain, in descanting upon the glory and love of the Lord Jesus Christ, as in the following words of the thirteenth homily: "Lend us your ears, dearest brethren, for you are about to hear a very necessary truth. Refresh the thirst of your minds in the waves of that Divine Fountain of which we are going to speak, but you will not extinguish it. Drink, but you will not be satiated. For the Living Fountain now calls us to Himself, and says,

Whoso thirsteth, let him come unto Me and drink. The Lord Himself and our God, Jesus Christ, is the Fountain of life, and therefore invites us to Himself, that we may drink of Him. He drinks of Christ who loves Him. He drinks when he is satiated with the Word of God. Let us Gentiles eagerly drink what the Jews have abandoned. For see whence that Fountain flows, whence the Bread descends; for the same person who is Bread and Fountain is the only Son, our God the Lord Christ, after whom we ought always to hunger." We get a glimpse in these sermons of an older expositor still, as Columbanus quotes from some unknown work of his master Comgall, the founder of Bangor, leaving us the only fragment of Comgall's writings which has escaped the wreck of time. This extract will be found in the second of the homilies of St. Columbanus, which treats "Concerning the Mortification of Vices and the Acquisition of Virtues," where Columbanus, having laid down that he will not enter into deep mysteries, but will speak rather concerning practical matters pertaining to edification, then proceeds to intimate that his modesty and distrust of his own powers compel him to quote the words of his master Comgall<sup>1</sup> upon the means absolutely necessary for attaining strict mortification; whereupon the remainder of the homily is taken up with the extract from St. Comgall, laying down the principles of the ascetic life.

But we must draw to a close. Columbanus was a many-sided character. His theology and teaching were, like most of the ancient Celtic doctors, strictly Augustinian. There is not a word in his homilies a modern Calvinist might not

<sup>1</sup> See Fleming's *Collectanea*, p. 47. Columbanus calls his master Faustus, which was the Latin equivalent for Comgall, as we learn from Notker's *Martyrology*, June 9th, where Comgall is thus described: "Unum Comgellum, Latine Fausti nomine illustrem, præceptorem Beati Columbani Magistri Domini Patris nostri Galli." Notker was a ninth-century monk of St. Gall. Another explanation of Comgall is *Pulchrum Pignus*, Ussher's Works, v. 506. Fleming, p. 316, mentions under the writings of Comgall, his *Methodus Vitæ Regularis* (quoted by Columbanus), and epistles to the abbots of his monasteries.

utter, save one slight reference to the intercession of saints at the close of the First Instruction. He was a great organizer of monastic institutions, and his rule stands pre-eminent for its stern, unbending character. He was a great missionary, and at the same time a witness for Celtic independence of Papal jurisdiction, whom no casuistry can explain away. Finally, we trust that these articles will have shown that Columbanus can be used by the student gifted with historic instinct to reflect light back upon the state of theology and theological and classical study in the ancient Celtic Church in the age and generation next after St. Patrick. The excess or splendour of light in one generation at times throws the next into comparative darkness. The generation next after the Apostles is counted a dark one in comparison with the apostolic age. The generation after St. Patrick stands for many in much the same position. Columbanus is a light amid the darkness, showing that though St. Patrick himself may have been unlearned, his immediate successors were men of widest culture. Their lives too taught a most useful lesson. They were no mercenary students; they needed no endowments for research. They showed how to unite highest thinking with plainest living, and have thus gained an immortality of fame as unselfish seekers after truth, which every fresh investigation serves only to increase.<sup>1</sup>

*P.S.*—Since I wrote these articles I have seen Ascoli's reprint of the whole Psalter of Columbanus, with its commentary. It is however more interesting in its present shape from a philological than from an expositor's point of view. It appeared within the last few years at Milan.

GEORGE T. STOKES.

<sup>1</sup> I may refer the student to a learned work on this subject by Rev. T. Olden, which has appeared since these papers were written. Its title is, *The Holy Scriptures in Ireland One Thousand Years Ago* (Dublin: Hodges Figgis). Had I seen it in time I would have used it to illustrate my story.



## UNPROFITABLE SERVANTS.

LUKE XVII. 7-10.

THE word here translated by "unprofitable" (*ἀχρεῖος*) occurs in only one other place in the New Testament; namely, in Matthew xxv. 30, where it is spoken of the "wicked and slothful servant," who was condemned to be "cast into outer darkness" for burying the talent which his master had entrusted to him, instead of turning it to the best account by trading. In the passage before us, on the contrary, it is spoken of God's servants at their very best: our Lord tells us, "When ye shall have done all the things that are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which it was our duty to do." How are we to explain these two applications of the same epithet: in the one place to the servant of Christ who had made no attempt to perform his duty at all; in the other, to His servants when they have done—what no man has ever perfectly done—all their duty?

The answer appears to be, that in the passage in St. Luke our Lord is asserting the impossibility of men being profitable to God in any absolute sense; while in the passage in St. Matthew he speaks the language of parable, and illustrates the relations of men as servants of God by the relations of servants to human masters, some servants being profitable and others unprofitable: teaching that He will reward "good and faithful servants" as if their services were indeed profitable to Him.

The truth, that in any absolute sense man cannot be profitable to God, is a truth of what was formerly called natural religion; that is to say, it is, or may be, known independently of express revelation, as a necessary and obvious inference from the creative omnipotence of God: for an infinitely powerful God cannot need the services of

His creatures, nor can they be profitable to Him, because He could, if He pleased, do as well without them as with them.

“ Merit lives from man to man,  
And not from man, O Lord, to Thee.”<sup>1</sup>

This truth was seen by Job's friend and “comforter” Eliphaz: “Can a man be profitable unto God?” (Job xxii. 2.) But Eliphaz failed to see that, though man cannot be *profitable* to God, yet man may be *pleasing* to God. He has stated his belief on the subject in the almost immediately following words: “Is it any pleasure to the Almighty, that thou art righteous?”<sup>2</sup> meaning, of course, that it is no pleasure to Him. But we believe, not as a truth of natural religion, but as a truth expressly revealed through the prophets and by Christ, that it *is* a pleasure to the Almighty that we should be righteous; and for this saying, as well as for their slanders against the innocent and saintly Job, and for their foolish and stupid attempt to exalt the holiness and wisdom of God by the sayings that “the heavens are not clean in His sight,” and “His angels He chargeth with folly” (Job xv. 15 and iv. 18), the Lord, at the end of Job's trials, said to Eliphaz and the two other “comforters,” Bildad and Zophar, “My wrath is kindled against you: for ye have not spoken of Me the thing that is right” (Job xlii. 7). These two doctrines, that man *cannot* be profitable to God, and that man *can* be pleasing to God, are equally true and equally needful to remember. The false belief, that man *can be profitable* to God, is the root of superstitious and practically faithless and impious notions about human merit and “works of supererogation”; the

<sup>1</sup> Tennyson, *In Memoriam*.

<sup>2</sup> It does not appear that in Luke xvii. 10 there is any allusion to Job xxii. 2. The word in the LXX. version of Job which we translate by *profitable* is not etymologically connected with our Lord's word under consideration which we translate by *unprofitable*.

false belief, that man *cannot please* God, is the root of indifference to His service and of practical atheism of the heart and life.

But, further, though God does not part with His omnipotence, and in any absolute sense has no need of our services, yet He condescends to have need of them. Christ, at His final entrance into Jerusalem, condescended to have need of a young ass, which no doubt belonged to a disciple of His (Matt. xxi. 2); and He has told us that He regards any kindness done to "one of the least of His brethren" as done to Himself (Matt. xxv. 40).

These two mutually complementary truths—the truth that God needs not our services, and the truth that He nevertheless condescends to need them, and is pleased with them—are respectively brought out in the two parables, partly parallel and partly contrasted, of the Pounds and the Talents. In the parable of the Pounds (Luke xix. 12), a nobleman, who was going away into a far country in order to be invested with royalty, left with each of ten of his servants a sum of money equal to about three pounds sterling; and, on his return with royal power, rewarded the servant who had earned ten pounds for him with the governorship of a province containing ten cities, and the servant who had earned five pounds with the governorship of a province containing five cities. The money wherewith he entrusted his servants, and any money that they could earn, was a matter of no importance to a king; his purpose was not to increase his own riches, but to make trial of their ability, industry, and honesty in serving him. Every detail in Christ's parables has its own lesson of truth, and this is meant to show us the infinitely small value of our highest endowments and our best services when compared with the infinite riches of God. In the parable of the Talents (Matt. xxv. 14), on the contrary, the master is not described as a king or a nobleman, but only a private

person of great wealth, having many servants; among whom, when he was leaving his own country for a considerable time, he distributed his money in charge; giving to different servants different sums of one, two, or five talents, equal respectively to about one hundred and eighty, three hundred and sixty, and nine hundred pounds of our money. It is implied that these were but small portions of the master's riches; for he said to each of those who by careful trading had doubled the money entrusted to him, "Well done, good and faithful servant; thou hast been faithful over a few things, I will set thee over many things." But though he calls it "a few things," we cannot suppose that a sum equal to nine hundred pounds of our money could be a matter of no account to him whatever, or of no more importance than the few pounds entrusted to the servants were to the king in the other parable; on the contrary, these comparatively large sums are mentioned in order to teach us the great importance of the interests wherewith the Lord entrusts His servants. We are told, moreover, that the master delivered to the servants his goods, evidently meaning all his goods. This is quite unlike what is implied in the parable of the Pounds, and means that Christ has committed the care of His kingdom on earth to His servants; primarily to the apostles and those who succeed them in the ministry of the Word.

And lest the importance of the position and the responsibilities of His servants should not be esteemed highly enough, Christ has added the very remarkable incident, that of the three servants concerning whom He relates the account of their stewardship and the consequent judgment upon them, the "wicked and slothful" servant was that one to whom the least had been entrusted; signifying that one of the chief dangers to be guarded against, is the tendency to underrate the importance of our stewardship;—to think it not worth while to make the most of comparatively



small endowments and small opportunities. Arnold of Rugby, who had a right to speak on such a subject, says in a letter to one of his old pupils: "I am satisfied that a neglected intellect is far oftener the cause of mischief to a man, than a perverted or over-valued one."<sup>1</sup>

To return to that saying of our Lord with which we begin:—it no doubt at first sight appears almost harsh, and much less gracious than His words generally are. But the truth which it asserts is one of which men need to be reminded, though, as we have endeavoured to show, it is, when understood, seen to be self-evidently true; indeed, the idea of God thanking man is as absurd as the blasphemy of the Persian agnostic Omar Khayyam (if he is fairly represented by his translator) in offering, on man's behalf, to forgive God. In order to see the real graciousness of this saying of our Lord, it is not necessary to read between the lines; we have only to consider the words "after that thou shalt eat and drink." There is neither niggardliness nor upbraiding in this: "God giveth to all men liberally and upbraideth not" (Jas. i. 5). How much is meant by the words "thou shalt eat and drink" is shown by the saying of the Psalmist, "They shall be abundantly satisfied with the fatness of Thy house; and Thou shalt make them drink of the river of Thy pleasures" (Ps. xxxvi. 8). And Christ Himself says in another parable (Luke xii. 37), "Blessed are those servants, whom the Lord when He cometh shall find watching: verily I say unto you, that He shall gird Himself, and make them sit down to meat, and come and serve them." And lest we might fear that His words had been mistaken;—lest we might fear that it is impossible for the Master to serve His servants and for God to serve man, we are told by another evangelist (John xiii. 4) that at the farewell supper the Lord

<sup>1</sup> Stanley's *Life of Arnold*, vol. ii., p. 83.

girded Himself, and did the work of a servant by washing the feet of His disciples.

Thus the parable under our consideration (for it is a parable in reality, though not quite so in form), not only teaches that all our service is due to God, so that when we have done all that was our duty to do we are still unprofitable servants;—but it also clearly suggests the further truth, that if we honestly make it our first aim to serve God, He will provide us with all that we need. The lesson is the same as that which the Lord has taught, without a parable, in the Sermon on the Mount: “Be not anxious, saying, What shall we eat? or, What shall we drink? or, Where-withal shall we be clothed? for your heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things. But seek first His kingdom, and His righteousness; and all these things shall be added unto you” (Matt. vi. 31–33).

The same truth—or rather, the still more spiritual truth, that the service of God ought to be foremost, not only in our aims, but in our thoughts and our prayers—is taught in the structure of the Lord’s Prayer. If we had not this before us as a model of prayer, and if the best men were asked the question, What ought to be foremost in our prayers? it is likely that one would answer, Daily bread, both bodily and spiritual; another, Forgiveness of sins; a third, Guidance through the perplexities of life; and a fourth, Deliverance from evil. But our Lord teaches differently from all these; He teaches us first to pray that the name of our heavenly Father may be hallowed, His kingdom furthered, and His will done; and after that, to pray for the supply of our own wants; trusting God, that if we ask aright in faith, He will give us all that we need.

JOSEPH JOHN MURPHY.

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## BREVIA.

**The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament.**<sup>1</sup>—After a long delay the second volume of the translation of Dr. Schrader's excellent book, *Die Keilinschriften und das Alte Testament*, has appeared. This part contains translations of Dr. Schrader's commentary on various verses of the Bible, beginning with 2 Kings xviii. 14; a good excursus on chronology, with a translation of the Assyrian Eponym Canon; and a glossary, which fills eighty pages printed in small type. In addition to these we have two indexes and about thirty pages of "Notes and Addenda," by the English translator. Throughout the work Dr. Schrader has added notes and corrections, caused by the steady advance which the science of Assyriology is making year by year, and his most recent discoveries and theories have been diligently gathered together and brought into their proper place by Mr. Whitehouse. On his own account Mr. Whitehouse has brought together some observations on passages in the Hebrew Bible, some of the words of which, in their Assyrian form, occur in the cuneiform inscriptions. The number of these passages may be increased almost indefinitely, and, inasmuch as the Hebrew and Assyrian dialects are very closely related, this is not to be wondered at. When the Assyrian inscriptions are better known we shall see the Assyrian forms of verbs and nouns common to Assyrian and Hebrew printed in the same dictionary. This however is a matter for the future, and can only be done in a small way now. Mr. Whitehouse's translation is tolerably literal, and is certainly easy to read; and his studies of Assyrian matters have prevented him from making the mistakes which a translator with no special knowledge would have made. With a modesty rarely to be met with among the new school of students of Assyrian, Mr. Whitehouse owns to the fact that he is not an "independent investigator in the department of cuneiform research"; hence it is hardly fair to criticise the statements which he makes on certain subjects which one knows to be the productions of others. It must however be pointed out that Dr. Schrader would have added, under his own name and authority, the greater part of the translator's notes had they been

<sup>1</sup> *The Cuneiform Inscriptions and the Old Testament*. Vol. ii. By E. Schrader. Translated into English by O. C. Whitehouse. (Williams & Norgate, 1888.)

necessary to the reader. In the last German edition of his work he gave whatever parallels there are between biblical statements and historical facts in the cuneiform inscriptions, and explanations which could be relied upon of words and passages in them. We may be wrong, but it seems to us quite unnecessary to devote half a page to the discussion of a philological theory of Dr. Fried. Delitzsch (p. 303), which no one with any knowledge of Semitic grammar could entertain for a moment. In the same way we are sorry to see nearly two whole pages (pp. 313-315) devoted to the explanation of an absurd theory, for which we have to thank Mr. Pinches. In 1875 Sir H. Rawlinson published in his *Inscriptions of Western Asia*, vol. iv., pl. 67, No. 2, the copy of an Assyrian religious or mythological text from a tablet numbered K. 3972. Subsequently Mr. Pinches published<sup>1</sup> a little account of it, and translated a part of its colophon. He omitted to say however, that he obtained the restorations of some of the broken passages and nearly the whole colophon from K. 2518, which has since been published by Mr. Evetts.<sup>2</sup> Messrs Halévy and Haupt have discussed passages from it, and Mr. Sayce has given a translation of it in his *Hibbert Lectures* (p. 535). The composition is either a prayer or a hymn, most probably the latter. In it there is one line (W. A. I. xv. 67, l. 61) which has been differently rendered by each of these students. Haupt translates the line, "Wer verwichene Nacht lebte, starb heute," "He who lived last night died to-day"; Sayce, "That which has lived and died at evening (*ina amšat*), does he renew"; Pinches, "(The God) who in the earth lived, died, renewed (himself)," and later, "Who in the world lived, died, renewed?" Of these three renderings the most probable is that given by Haupt. A fourth rendering, characterized by absurdity and nonsense, is given by Jeremias in his *Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* (pp. 48, 49), of which "important contribution" Mr. Whitehouse has made no use in this case. In this composition Jeremias sees the prayer of a sufferer who sighs in a mournful lamentation which touches Jeremias even at this remote time, and reminds him of Psalm lxxxviii. 4, "I am counted with them that go down into the pit." The sufferer says afterwards, "The day is sighing, the night is a

<sup>1</sup> *Proc. Soc. Bib. Arch.*, Jan. 13th, 1885, p. 68. See also *Academy*, Jan. 21st, 1888.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, June 5th, 1888, p. 478.



torrent of tears, the month is weeping, and the year is misery." After a few more lines, in which the sufferer abandons himself to despair, he promises that he and all his house will dedicate themselves to the fear of God. In the following paragraph Jeremias quotes from Haupt, without acknowledgment, the line referred to above, and translates "Wer am Abend zuvor noch lebte,—bei Tagesanbruch ist er tot, "He who last evening<sup>1</sup> was still alive is dead at daybreak." Each of these four renderings is open to serious objections, and the only translator who has attempted to fix any meaning to the line is Mr. Pinches, who sees in it a reference to a supposed expectation of the Babylonians of a Messiah. The transcription of the line by Haupt reads:

"Sa ina amšat ibluṭu imāt uddiṣ";

and that of Mr. Pinches:

"Ša ina am-mat ib-lu-ṭu i-mut ud-di-iṣ."

Now the most difficult word to understand in this line is AMŠAT, or, according to Mr. Pinches, AMMAT. This word Mr. Pinches renders by "world," and says that it occurs with the meaning "earth" on the first creation tablet. Now this is a bad blunder, for the word *ammāt* does not occur on the first "creation" tablet or K. 5419c. In line four of this tablet however we read "mu-um-mu Ti-amat mu-al-li-da-at gim-ri-šu-un"; and we can only suppose that Mr. Pinches has confused *amat*, a part of the proper name Ti-amat, with the word which he transcribes *ammāt* in the line quoted above. Mr. Whitehouse has already printed Dr. Schrader's transliteration of the first "creation" tablet in his English translation (vol. i., p. 2); and he should have verified Mr. Pinches' unfortunate statement by it. Mr. Pinches' derivation of *ud-di-iṣ* from a root חרש is most improbable, while that of Haupt and Jeremias is better, and makes better sense. From the time of the gentleman who read the ten commandments out of an inscription of Assur-nasir-pal until to-day, it has been the fashion with a certain class of students to find proofs of Bible statements and Bible ideas in every Assyrian text published. It is only to be expected that a nation like the Assyrians, which was so closely connected with the Jews, in fact, having with them one common origin, should possess the same ideas and the same way of express-

<sup>1</sup> *Lit.*, "He who the evening before."

ing them. Wherever parallels can be shown between the two cognate peoples, whether in reference to their religion, language, or customs, it is important to do so; but we think that the system of reading Bible ideas into passages of doubtful or unknown meaning cannot be too strongly condemned, for it is mischievously misleading. We need hardly say that there is not the least support of the theory that the Babylonians had "Messianic conceptions" in the text a line of which is quoted above. We are glad to see that Mr. Whitehouse does not attach any importance to the theory; but why did he waste two pages of valuable space on such a wild imagination? It is a pity that so good a book as this, sound and trustworthy in all respects as far as Dr. Schrader's own work is concerned, should be disfigured in this manner.

E.

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### JUDAS ISCARIOT.

WE have now seen the witness borne by the graphic and homely truthfulness, the air of nature which breathes about the apostolic group. But it is sometimes objected that the choice of Judas was unnatural.

It is important to observe the sense in which the word *natural* is here used. It is not the same in which we have, throughout these articles, found an evidence in the natural behaviour of the eleven. It is not meant that anything in his behaviour is ill-conceived, improbable, inconsistent with the rest of his conduct; but only that our theological notions about Christ on earth make us recoil from supposing that His choice of an apostle could be a failure. But when we set any theological prepossession against plain words of Scripture, we act in just the manner which Bacon denounced in science; we argue from *à priori* views of what is to be expected, instead of interrogating the facts. No objection of the sort can stand against positive evidence, of which one branch is such internal verisimilitude as it has been the work of these papers to exhibit.

If we appeal to theology, to theology we must go. Then we have to consider whether and in what sense the choice of Judas can be pronounced a failure. Did anything result from it except according to the deliberate counsel and foreknowledge of God? Did the great treason prevent Jesus from walking in all the hours of His allotted day, working until the night came, in which none can work?

If it is not from the high ground of theology that the election of Judas can be assailed, neither is it from the consideration of the perfection of the humanity of Jesus. When we remember that He emptied Himself, was compassed about with infirmities, and declared that there was a day and hour which He knew not, we cannot be disturbed by His choice of one, then promising well, who afterwards degenerated into a devil. What must be held fast is that Christ's self-accepted limitations were not such as to hinder or impair His Messianic offices and work, which were not only flawless, but perfect as to completeness also. Now it is not pretended that the betrayal thwarted or maimed any function of Him who should be taken away by oppression and judgment, that so He might bear the sins of many.

The objection gains all its force from the confusion of two points of view; it expects Jesus to have chosen according to our human views of failure and success, and yet, in so choosing, to have been armed with the perceptions of omniscience.

There is yet more real unfitness in the notion that Jesus should not experience deceit and treachery. He had to be tempted in all points like as we are. As the ideal sufferer, it was not necessary that He should experience every several pain. But in every distinct class of innocent woe, mental as well as bodily, amid ingratitude, injustice, and disgrace, and the baffling sense of perplexity and of unexplained desertion from above, we recognise that His steps were there before us. Now the sting of treachery is dipped in a poison all its own. There are men who could defy anguish, and laugh at the insults of enemies, to whom the desertion of a friend is maddening. Brutus, in the agony of defeat, could not only console himself, but rejoice

"that yet in all my life  
I found no man but he was true to me."



Yet this was the well-beloved Brutus who struck the blow that broke the mighty heart of Cæsar. Now the betrayed, as well as the suffering and the wronged, can feel the sympathy and gain courage and calmness from the fortitude of Him whom Judas betrayed with a kiss.

Moreover, the choice of one who subsequently fell is analogous with all the ways of God. At what degree of privilege does the objector suppose that apostasy should begin to be credible? Other ambassadors of Christ have fallen. The candlestick has been removed of whole Churches among which Christ, in all the glory of His apocalypse, was seen to walk. In every age men have been endowed with mighty powers of genius and with vast resources, and yet their free will has not been cancelled. The marvellous brain of Napoleon could have permanently elevated all Europe if he had only been true to what is called one's better self, and yet he was not coerced. It remained open to Napoleon to drown the civilized world in blood, to compromise the future of history, and permanently to degrade the political aspirations of Frenchmen, by the abuse of powers which God, having given, did not paralyse. Nay, the meanest who rejects salvation has a soul for which Christ died; and that universal privilege, vastly greater than all special gifts which may be superadded, does not insure heaven. Doubtless the treason of Judas remains unmatched in turpitude, but it is not in kind that it differs from many more; and sober commentators have believed that his guilt is yet to be overtopped by the lawless one of the last time.

Dismissing such objections, and returning to the evidence of verisimilitude, especially in the display of character, and in the absence of later subjective elements, we see plainly that the betrayal by a chosen one is quite unlike a subsequent evolution. Let us suppose that St. John had omitted or extenuated the fall of an Apostle, the unworthi-

ness of a familiar friend in whom Jesus trusted, how eagerly would certain critics have welcomed such a proof of the deifying process ascribed to the fourth gospel! But this very gospel brings out his treachery with a clearness which Renan ascribes to malice. It is there we find the problem involved in it stated boldly and even sternly in the phrase, "Did I not choose you the Twelve, and one of you is a devil?" And in this very phrase the explanation is hinted; Judas is not now what he was then: the choice was prior to the degradation.

The first thing which strikes us, studying this subject, is probably the taciturnity of Judas. Words or deeds of one like Bartholomew might be forgotten, but Judas is a great figure in history; why then are we told nothing of his call, his services, or even of the loud professions by which insincerity is wont to veil itself? We read absolutely nothing. Almost from the first, the man must have had a baffled sense of unfitness for his calling, mingled with eager desire to secure the great things which Jesus promised, and which the miracles attested His power to grant. As each day led others up from their old levels, by the purifying tidings of an unearthly kingdom, of vast rewards to be received "with persecutions," and how they should be killed and crucified, yet not a hair of their heads should perish, all was assuredly a blind paradox to the earthly heart of Judas, causing him to lie silent, warily abstinent from comment and from question, feeling his way towards the position which would best suit him in the expected kingdom by securing now the poor treasurership of the Galilæan group. By what intrigues he excluded or ejected from that post Matthew, whose experience as a publican fitted him so especially for it, we cannot tell; but we can well imagine that he would endeavour, by energy in the direction which gave scope to his earthly instincts, to hide from others, and

for a season from himself, the lifelessness and lovelessness of his spirit. For such is the method of all declining souls.

Meanwhile, the Lord's disregard of influential persons and of popular applause, and His frequent neglect of chances to secure such advantage as Judas valued, would vex and chafe him. Opportunities wilfully thrown away, and influence wasted, would irritate him as a personal wrong, for his own interests were at stake. The rebuking sense of motives which were not his, and yet were too high to be despised, would deepen his estrangement. Because he neither understood nor sought to understand Jesus, because he is never recorded to have sought an explanation like Jude, nor like Thomas confessed a difficulty, nor like Philip caught eagerly at the hope of being "satisfied," therefore his whole spirit was embittered against his Lord, even while he lingered on, hoping for that kingdom which continued to be a part of the programme, and fascinated by the wonders which continued to prove it possible.

The operation with varying intensity of these two forces, personal alienation from Christ and selfish adhesion to His party, explain the conduct of Judas and suit the language of Scripture far better than any highflown theory that he helped the arrest in order to force sterner action upon Jesus.

Thus his character is the very reverse of that of Thomas. The one was faithful through love when hope was over; he would go to die with Christ: the other gave Him a loveless adhesion until selfish hope expired.

Jesus would not remove from His circle (as the Church may not remove from hers) the most unsatisfactory member who had not severed himself by open sin. His tolerance of Judas will for ever condemn all priestly attempts, whether of Rome or Geneva, to subject Church membership to a prying inquisitorial scrutiny. But His frequent warnings against low and sordid motives, against reliance upon wonderful works by doers of iniquity, above all, against the

mammon of unrighteousness and the deceitfulness of riches choking the word ; His mention of the rich man whose soul was required, and the other at whose gate Lazarus desired the crumbs, the camel at the needle's eye, and the rich at the door of the kingdom—all these are samples of faithful dealing with the most unhappy of mankind.

If He would not expel Judas, He would hold the door open for him to depart and so escape the "greater sin." The connexion establishes this intention in the question, asked when many went back, "Do ye also choose to go away?" It was put at a moment when Judas would assuredly experience, in their fullest strength, both the motives which seem to have disputed for his life.

Not only had he just witnessed two stupendous miracles ; he had also beheld at last a popular movement in favour of the crowning of Jesus, even by force. Another such movement might succeed ; it was not the time for desertion ; all was not lost. Yet as he watched the multitude first baffled and then alienated, his disappointment and resentment would rise almost to fury. It was natural that he should not yet go away. It was also natural that the Searcher of hearts should answer, to Peter's renewed assurance of adhesion, "Did I not (once) choose you the Twelve, and one of you is (now) a devil?"

The misbehaviour of Judas about the ointment was under provocation of somewhat the same kind, the vexation of seeing a great opportunity, from his point of view, entirely lost. The raising of Lazarus had once more created an extraordinary sensation, not now in remote Galilee, but in the very heart of Judaism, in the capital itself.<sup>1</sup> All men went after Him. But how had Jesus

<sup>1</sup> Nothing is more singular to observe than the inconsistent ways in which scepticism treats the miracles. How are they to be accounted for? That is quite simple, the air was full of the miraculous : when Jesus attained to fame



used His advantage? What powerful friend had He drawn towards Him? What enemy had He crushed? What new authority had He grasped? More plainly than ever He had predicted for Himself the endurance of extreme suffering and shame, and had bidden His followers also to drink of His cup and share His baptism. From that demand many brave men have recoiled through fear, and many generous men through self-interest. And we can judge of the bitter alienation and resentment of Judas. As higher impulses died in him and larger hopes grew dim, he had begun to console himself with petty dishonesties, snatching, almost as a right, the poor compensations which could be had. It was the sin of a nature no longer inspired with mighty hopes even of a worldly kind, a nature shrivelling up, and content with sordid satisfactions. And although his dream of rank and power was fading, great harvests might still be reaped from the gratitude of the healed and their relatives. It was therefore in every way exasperating, enraging his personal rancour against the quixotic Leader who had entangled him in the meshes of a lost cause, and frustrating his last hope of gain, when a "very precious" gift actually reached them, only to be squandered in personal homage, instead of converting itself into revenue.

No tender presentiment of the suffering of a loved one, amid which this graceful act might be recalled as having come before, a kind of anticipatory embalming, no sympathy as a teacher, miracles were ascribed to Him as a matter of course. They are a mere accretion, although Scripture seems to find them wonderful enough. But when once they are explained as trifles, they are important enough to explain everything. It is like asking how did a penniless man obtain a great property. He bought it with a diamond. But how did he come by the diamond? Diamonds in that country were as cheap as pebbles. It remains to be shown how the property was paid for with these cheap diamonds, and it remains to be shown how the raising of Lazarus should have created an excitement which decided the priests to destroy Jesus in their alarm, although "the faculty of working miracles . . . had nothing surprising in it" (Renan, *Vie de Jesus*, ed. 15, pp. 374-5, 267).

with the forebodings which instinctively put so melancholy a construction upon this affectionate tribute rendered at a feast, no honour for the womanly tact which might not speak, yet found worthy utterance in a ministration truly feminine, doing what she could, no better feeling of any kind survived to restrain his indignation. But it shows a powerful and vigorous personality that he could involve the rest in his unloving sin. And it is characteristic that the conspirator and traitor should work silently and underground, so that only John detects his voice in the harsh complaint that the gift was not only wasteful, but had no purpose at all. It is to be noticed that the words of Judas, reported by him, are more cautious and measured than the honest outbreak of the Eleven. They said, "To what purpose is this waste?" "Why was this waste of the ointment made?" He asked, "Why was not this ointment sold?" (Matt. xxvi. 9; Mark xiv. 4; John xii. 5.)

Under his evil influence, the disciples not only murmured among themselves, but directly assailed Mary, or at least disturbed her by the loudness of their complaints. Therefore Jesus said, "Let her alone." And the same burning scorn which so often scathed Pharisee and scribe was audible, at least to the guilty consciousness of Judas, in the words, "Ye have the poor always with you, and whensoever ye will, ye can do them good." With the thief it was a long neglected opportunity. Thus he was again rebuked and disappointed, and had now come into direct collision with his Master, and felt that his mask was becoming semi-transparent. No wonder that the devil, whose malign influence he had long represented among the Twelve, and by whose name he had been called, now entered into him as into a home. Not to lose on both sides, he fell back on the chiefs of the hierarchy, and offered to betray Jesus unto them. That they had expected no such help, nor hoped that a disciple of Jesus would prove false, is shown in the

words, "they were glad." In fact, Judas solved for them a difficult question. The hated Teacher had been very prudent as well as bold. In public they could not arrest Him; their own emissaries had been sometimes overpowered by such words as never man spake, and at other times had feared the people. But now they might seize Him in His retirement, even though His usage was nightly to withdraw from their city to the village of His warmest friends. They said, "Not on the feast day"; but Jesus said, "After two days is the feast, and the Son of man is betrayed." And it was the expulsion of Judas from their group, destroying his means of giving any later help, which verified the prophecy, at the expense of the calculations of the priests.

As the great day arrived Judas would observe signs of caution, the place of the supper being indicated for their preparations by a sign impenetrably mysterious. Only his scorn would be excited when the Master Himself washed their feet, and declared such abasement to be their calling also, the vocation which had once dazzled him. And yet Jesus was then revealing, not humility alone, but the amazing love which could overcome all natural aversion, and perform menial offices even for the vile man at whose touch every instinct of the supremely sensitive heart revolted.

As at the very beginning of His ministry He had touched the loathsomeness of leprosy (and this act is recorded with much emphasis), so now He washed the feet of Judas. But since there was no desire for healing, no spiritual effect resulted. He said, "Ye are clean, but not all." And soon, the iron nerve of Judas being unshaken by this thrust, and his forehead unabashed, the grief and repugnance of his Lord rose higher. As they did eat He was troubled in spirit. How could He speak in the ears of the traitor the last, most intimate and perfect utterances of His love? How could He say, "Ye are they which have continued with Me in My temptations"? Therefore He declares

plainly, "The hand of him that betrayeth Me is with Me on the table." And in their agitation each suspected his fellow and himself; they looked each into his neighbour's face: they said, "Is it I, Lord?" But the self-restraint of Judas did not fail; no hasty question as yet exposed him to an answer which would strip off the mask; he would hold his place if possible until his villany could be consummated.

All the world confesses the pathos of the words of Jesus on the morrow, when, bleeding from the scourge, tottering beneath His cross, and on the road to Calvary, He pitied the daughters of Jerusalem rather than Himself, and sighed for the days when Jewish mothers should envy the barren womb. But who feels aright the still more amazing pity of the betrayed One shuddering at the traitor's doom; reiterating that something human still survived in him, whom once His calm conviction, not His troubled emotion, had called a devil, now declaring twice over, with accumulated emphasis, that he was still a man, though false to the ideal Manhood. "Woe to THAT MAN by whom THE SON OF MAN is betrayed! Good were it for him if there had not been born THAT MAN!" (*Οὐαὶ δὲ τῷ ἀνθρώπῳ ἐκείνῳ, δι' οὗ ὁ Υἱὸς τοῦ ἀνθρώπου παραδίδοται· καλὸν ἦν αὐτῷ, εἰ οὐκ ἐγεννήθη ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐκεῖνος*, Matt. xxvi. 24.)

And therewith He gives to John a sign which Judas (watching them how keenly!) could not fail to recognise as such. With the sop, we read that Satan again entered into him, in the still deadlier hatred of his discovery. And who is so dull as to overlook the contrast between the question of the others and that which now, at last, is wrung from the stern self-repression of Iscariot; their "Is it I, Lord?" and his "Is it I, Rabbi?" It is his first recorded utterance, and we shall once more hear him use the same halting epithet perhaps in malignant reference to this scene.

But now, since two apostles, at least, knew his guilt, it was necessary to dismiss him at once; and for this it



sufficed that the mastery of Jesus should assert itself in simple words, understood by no hearer except himself: "What thou art doing (*ὃ ποιεῖς*), do quickly." Thereupon, from the lighted room, from the presence of the true Light which lighteth every man, into the gloom and solitude he "went immediately out, and it was night." The whole scene is most vivid, intense, and self-evidencing; and this last phrase, one of the two or three in the New Testament of which the power is subjective, is perhaps, for quiet, unstrained intensity, the most impressive in literature.

Long before Judas had convinced the hierarchy that help from him must come that night or never, and had returned with men and officers, our Lord had gone thence to the Mount of Olives. Time had been gained for the last intimate discourse, and for the agony in which His soul gathered strength to die. And the plans of the priests had been so thoroughly dislocated, that when their Victim stood before them their false witnesses were still to seek.

How could Jesus be arrested amid the uncertain lights and shadows of the olive grove? What if He drew back, or if some devoted follower interposing confused the seekers? Judas, who knew Him well, gave the hateful sign, in which meanness and treachery reached their utmost height; they should arrest the man whom he would kiss, while entangled in his false embraces.

But again Jesus frustrated their device, and the arrest was guided by His action, not by theirs. It was not the first time in history that a great individuality, absolutely fearless, proved his mastery over all physical odds, when, as Jesus announced, "I am He," they went backward, and fell to the ground.

Was it because His words implied a surrender, and Judas, first to divine their meaning, would fain encourage the rest, or was it in agitated, senseless inability to depart from the

pre-arranged programme, that he presently hurried forward and kissed Him much, with the cry, "Hail, Rabbi"? And is there not in the action a hideous reminiscence of their recent parting; in the kiss a retort upon the sop; in the "Hail, Rabbi," an echo of the question, "Rabbi, is it I?" By no ingenuity can the cynical part he now played be reconciled with the theory that he wished Jesus to assert Himself, in order thus to grasp his own share in a secular and earthly kingdom; of such assertion, his destruction bade fair to be the first result. But Jesus calmly and dispassionately said, "Friend, do that for which thou art come"; and the "much kissing" (*κατεφίλησεν*) explains the second remonstrance, "Judas, betrayest thou the Son of man with a kiss?" With this He yielded Himself up to die.

It is impossible that Judas, amid his plots and treasons, never asked himself how far the malice of the priests would go. In that case he would surely have reproached them for their cruelty, at least when they rejected his appeal to them. But it was natural that the difference between the contemplation of guilt and the actual burden of it should alarm his soul too late, and that the illusions by which Satan deceived him to his ruin should vanish when their end was served. Henry the Second of France was callous enough during the Massacre of St. Bartholomew, but he died in the anguish of remorse. And Shakespeare conceived that the unnatural woman, to whom, when Duncan was murdered,

"The sleeping and the dead [were] but as pictures"  
(*Macbeth* ii. 2),

should swoon in the morning, when the reaction had begun, and at last should herself

"by self and violent hands  
Take off her life" (v. 8).

Dreadful is the picture of the despair of this strong lost soul, as, regardless of all law, he rushes into the Holy Place, and flinging down before his accomplices the paltry reward of his guilt, the legal compensation for a slave which an ox might gore, he cries out, "I have sinned, in that I have betrayed the innocent blood."

Alas! he could only discern the immaculate blamelessness to which his close, prolonged, and hostile scrutiny thus bore the most unimpeachable of testimony. No further intuition led him to seek pardon from the all-merciful One whom he had wronged so deeply. His last hope is for comfort from the chiefs of his religion, who had so lately conspired with him and flattered him. But his use was over now, and they treated him with all the callous cruelty of men disturbed by the weakness of a dupe, when their hearts were hardened to commit the world's worst crime. As the first murderer would not be his brother's keeper, so they asked, "What is that to us?" A few hours later Pilate threw back upon them the blood of this just person in almost the exact words they used to Judas, "See thou to that": "See ye to it."

Once more alone, as when he left the upper chamber, but now friendless, conscience-stricken, and desperate, the forlorn wretch naturally wandered away (*ἀνεχώρησε*) to a place of evil omen, the piece of ground which the meagre wages of his guilt would have sufficed to buy, only because an abandoned pottery work had spoiled it; and thence, in a storm of unimaginable rage, self-loathing, and sorrow such as worketh death, perhaps amid the horror and dread and blinding darkness of the noonday night, wherein Jesus cried aloud to God Who had forsaken Him, Iscariot went to his own place, a dread warning to all men of rank, influence, or endowments, an Apostle, yet the son of perdition, and the only mortal whose dark fate we surely know.

A certain mystery broods over his obscure and lonely death, through which we dimly discern an unsteady attempt at suicide, a treacherous knot or a cord that breaks, a heavy fall into the hollow whence the potters had long since dug out the clay, and last of all a hideous mass, the strange antithesis of that undesecrated Body which even then perhaps was being reverently laid in a new tomb, and which saw no corruption.

G. A. CHADWICK.

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### THE CHRISTIAN SECRET.

IN a former paper I have endeavoured to reproduce a beautiful episode of church life in apostolic days, the gift from the Church at Philippi to the Apostle Paul in prison at Rome. Of this gift, the priceless Epistle to the Philippians is an acknowledgment. The acknowledgment contains, as a corrective, a casual remark which embodies and reveals some of St. Paul's deepest and most characteristic thoughts, thoughts frequently reappearing and giving a marked colour to his writings. This casual remark and these thoughts I purpose in this paper to expound.

In Philippians iv. 10 St. Paul has expressed his great joy at the gift from Philippi. That this was no ordinary or selfish joy, he has already suggested by speaking of it as a joy *in the Lord*. But this indication was not sufficient to guard his words against possibility of misinterpretation. They might seem to be the gratitude of a starving man for relief of his deep need. The Apostle therefore places his meaning beyond reach of doubt by adding, *Not that I speak in respect of want*. This phrase describes a result corresponding to its cause. St. Paul's words have nothing in common with those of a man whose possessions *fall-short*



of his need. They are not a beggar's thanks for charity. The same Greek preposition in the same sense is found in Acts iii. 17, *ye did it by way of ignorance*; Titus iii. 5, *according to His mercy He saved us*; Ephesians i. 5, *according to the good pleasure of His will*.

In order to dispel utterly the thought that want lay at the root of his gratitude, St. Paul goes on to explain how to him want is an impossible motive: *For I have learnt to be content*, or literally, *to be self-sufficient*.

Of this last word, the latter part is found in the famous words of Christ, *Sufficient for thee is My grace*. And the meaning is at once evident. Having the smile and favour of Christ, the suffering Apostle had all he needed for his highest welfare and happiness. In a similar, though much lower sense, the same word is used in Matthew xxv. 9, *lest there be not sufficient oil for us and you*; and in John vi. 7 *bread worth two hundred denarii is not sufficient for them*. In these passages the word denotes an objective and actual supply of a need. In other places it denotes a subjective consciousness that what we have is equal to our need; or usually a subjective limiting of our desires to our possessions. So in Luke iii. 14 the Baptist says to soldiers, *Be content with your wages*. And in Hebrews xiii. 5, the readers are exhorted, *Be content with such things as ye have*. These senses, objective possession and subjective consciousness of possession, are psychologically closely related.

The stronger term used by St. Paul in the passage before us is not uncommon in the best Greek writers; and conveys always a noble sense. Aristotle, in book i. 7 of his *Nicomachean Ethics*, says that no one chooses happiness as a means to something else; and supports this by saying that happiness is *self-sufficient*. He then defines the self-sufficient to be that which "even by itself alone makes life worthy of choice and needing nothing." This definition we may accept. That is self-sufficient which has in itself

whatever is needful for its highest well-being, and is therefore independent of everything external to itself.

The actual possession of all needful good is objective contentment or self-sufficiency. The same word also describes appropriately the state of mind of one who knows that he has all he needs, or of one whose desires are limited to his possessions, be these what they may. This use corresponds with the verb found in Hebrews xiii. 5, adding to it the idea that the satisfaction with one's circumstances has its root in the inner life of the contented one.

In the passage before us these senses are combined. The word denotes a subjective state of mind corresponding with an objective reality. The prisoner at Rome is satisfied with his surroundings, because he knows that for him these are the best possible. The prefix *self-* tells us that this sufficiency is within him. He is independent of his environment because he has in himself whatever is needful for his highest welfare and happiness. We at once understand that this self-sufficiency has its source and root in Christ. But Christ dwells in Paul. Therefore sufficiency in Christ may, in contrast to dependence on external good, be called self-sufficiency. The smile of Christ, which fills Paul's inner life, makes him independent of everything outside himself.

This Christian contentment or self-sufficiency is worthy of careful study. It is not, like what we may call philosophic contentment, a narrowing down of our desires to our poor possessions. For in Christ there is no narrowness. It is a consciousness of infinite wealth. It is a knowledge that we are children of the great King, and that all He has is ours; that amid the storms of life we are safe in our Father's arms; that the mysterious and tumultuous forces of the material world and of social life, which seem to toss us about at their will or whim, are completely under the control of our Father in heaven, and are working out His purposes of mercy towards us. It is not merely the hope

of heaven. For hope implies the absence of that which is hoped for. It is a knowledge that all things are already ours; that even this rough world is the divinely erected and governed robing room for the eternal banquet. He who knows this is independent of his environment. For his sufficiency is in himself. And he is independent of the uncertainties of to-morrow. How complete is this present sufficiency we see in the joyful light which illumines every page of this epistle, undimmed by the gloom of a dungeon and by the shadow of death.

This joyful acceptance of his lot was not natural to St. Paul. He says, *I have learnt to be content*. The word *learnt* implies that it had been acquired. And it suggests gradual acquirement with some effort and difficulty. The Apostle had been to school. The school had been hardship and toil. But the training had been effective: and the lesson had been learnt.

The aorist ἐμαθον must be rendered, as must a similar aorist in chap. iii. 12, by the English perfect: *I have learnt*. This needful rendering does not imply any inaccuracy in St. Paul's use of Greek tenses; for a similar rendering is frequently needful in the best classic authors. It is caused by an essential difference between the Greek aorist and the English preterite. The former covers the whole ground occupied by our preterite and perfect. The English preterite is used only when we refer to a definite time in the past or to an event altogether past. The Greek aorist is used for any past event, even though it happened a moment ago, or at some indefinite time, or took place once or many times, or lasted for a moment or for ages. To translate here, *I learnt*, would suggest or imply that St. Paul learnt this lesson at some one definite time. He merely says that he had learnt it, gradually or quickly, at some time or times previous to the moment of writing. And this sense is conveyed by the English form, *I have learnt*.

We now pass to ver. 12. Having learnt, St. Paul can say confidently, *I know*. He goes on to set forth in detail the knowledge he has acquired.

The word rendered *to-be-abased* is often contrasted with the word *exalted*. So Luke xiv. 11 : *Every one that exalteth himself shall be brought low*. Similarly, in a local sense, in Luke iii. 5, *Every mountain and hill shall be brought low*. In 2 Corinthians xi. 7 St. Paul says that, by refusing monetary support, he *abased* himself that his readers *might be exalted*. In the passage before us the word denotes, in its widest sense, any form of adversity; *e.g.* going down into reproach, into poverty, into sickness, into bereavement, into the grave.

How to descend into these depths, not a few Christians do not know. They do not know how to suffer outward adversity without receiving inward loss. To many, the loss of money has led to doubt and fear and sin. In some Christians, even an insult arouses a vindictive spirit, and thus causes spiritual injury. But this need not be. If the path of duty leads down into poverty, or loneliness, or sickness, or the shadow of death, this is the Sacred Way to closer fellowship with Him who was acquainted with grief. And again and again, to His servants, this path has been illumined by a brightness never seen before. But this is only for those who *know how to be abased*, who know how to descend without slipping. This difficult lesson St. Paul had learnt. He had learnt it in the school of Christian contentment. He knew that neither death, nor life, nor things present, nor things to come could separate him from the love of Christ, and that therefore they could do him no harm. And knowing this, they were powerless to injure him.

Another lesson St. Paul had learnt. Its equal value is marked by a careful repetition : *I know also how to abound*. This last word, instead of *exalted*, the precise counterpart



to *abased*, enriches the verse with a new thought. *To abound* is literally to have something to spare, to have more than we need. It therefore throws into prominence the specific kind of abasement which St. Paul has been enduring, *viz.* poverty. In prison, before the coming of Epaphroditus, he had been in want. But now, as he tells his readers in ver. 18, using the same Greek word in the same present tense, having received the gift from Philippi, he has abundance. The same word is used in Matthew xiv. 20, xv. 37, John vi. 12, 13, for the fragments left by the thousands after their miraculous feast. It is also frequently used by St. Paul for spiritual abundance. An instructive example is found in 2 Corinthians ix. 8.

If poverty and adversity have destroyed the spiritual life of not a few, wealth and success have been still more fatal. But even this need not be. Wealth honestly obtained is a precious gift of God, designed in the hands of faithful men to advance His kingdom. He who gave the wealth will preserve those who cling to Him from the perils of His own gift, and thus make them rich indeed. Their gold will be laid upon His altar, and will thus be a means of nourishing and developing their spiritual life. It has been so again and again. And there are no grander men on earth than some who, once poor, have become rich, and in their wealth are humble followers of Him who became poor that they might be rich.

This lesson, like the other, must be learnt in the school of Christian self-sufficiency. They only who know that the real wealth is that within can ascend with safety the giddy heights of material good. All others will lean upon a staff which will pierce their hand and heart. And the gold in which they trust will rivet them to a world which is passing away.

Inasmuch as life itself consists of little else except ups and downs, he who is prepared for these is prepared for all

the events of life. We see then that the lesson learnt so well by the prisoner at Rome includes all that man most needs to know.

So important is this lesson, that St. Paul goes on, in the latter part of ver. 12, to expound it more fully. And, while doing so, he tells us how he has learnt it. The contrast, *to be abased and to abound*, is expanded into the double contrast, *to be filled with food and to be hungry*, and *to abound and to be in want*. *In whatsoever state I am*, literally *in what things I am*, becomes now, *in everything and in all things*. And the words *I have learnt, I know*, attain their climax in *I have learnt the secret*.

*To-be-filled-with-food* is a specific case under the more general term *abound*. The present infinitive, conspicuous by its use six times in this verse, denotes a process now going on or a present state. In the case before us it describes the process of receiving food in contrast to the aorist infinitive of the same verb, which in Luke xvi. 21 describes the relief of hunger resulting from taking food. The word *to-abound* reascends from the particular to the general, repeating the word used in the earlier part of the verse. *To-be-in-want* or *to-fall-short* is the exact opposite of *to-abound*. The one is to have more, the other is to have less, than we need. The latter recalls the cognate substantive in ver. 11: *Not that I speak in respect of want*.

The phrase *in everything* looks at the various circumstances of life one by one: *in all things* looks at them collectively. In each new environment and in life as a whole, St. Paul knows how to act.

The most interesting word in this verse is that which the Revisers render *I-have-learnt-the-secret*. It is cognate to a word frequently found in the New Testament and always rendered *mystery*, this last being an English form of the same Greek word. From the same family of Greek words are derived our English words *mystic* and *mysticism*.

All these have a definite reference to one of the most remarkable institutions of the ancient world. And only in the light of this definite reference can we understand the full significance of the passage before us.

The mysteries of Greece were secret religious rites and teaching, forming the chief part of festivals celebrated at regular intervals in certain places. The most famous were those held annually, with great pomp, for nine days, at Eleusis, twelve miles from Athens on the way to Corinth. After six days of public ceremonies, those who had previously undergone a preliminary initiation, and were now called in Greek *μύσται*, which we may perhaps translate *mystics*, were led, under the darkness of the night, bound by strict vows of secrecy, into the sanctuary of the goddess Demeter, where they saw and heard things forbidden to all others. So well was the secret kept, that we know but little of what then took place. But scattered references of classic writers suggest that these secrets included religious teaching, perhaps the noblest teaching of the heathen world. So Plato, *Phædo*, p. 81a: "Whither having come, it is given to the soul to be happy, being made free from error and folly and fears and coarse passions, and the other human evils, as they say about the initiated [same word as in the passage before us] in the mysteries, in truth spending the rest of their time with the gods." And Cicero, himself initiated, says in his *Laws*, book ii. 14: "Though Athens seems to me to have produced and brought into the life of men many excellent and divine things, yet nothing better than those mysteries by which from a boorish and wild life we are trained to humanity and are softened; and just as they are called initiations, so in truth we have learnt the first-principles of life: and not only have we received a way of living with joy, but also of dying with a better hope."

In Daniel (LXX.) ii. 18, 19, the forgotten dream of Nebuchadnezzar is called *this mystery, the mystery of the kingdom*.

And in ver. 28 we read, *There is a God in heaven that revealeth mysteries.* In the Apocrypha (Wisd. viii. 4) the technical term for the initiated is given to wisdom: *She is a mystic of the understanding of God.* In a looser sense, in reference to any confided secret, the word *mystery* is used in Sirach xxvii. 16, 17: *He that revealeth mysteries hath destroyed confidence.* Similar use in Tobit xii. 7, Judith ii. 2.

In still closer accord with classic use, our Saviour is recorded, in Matthew xiii. 11, Mark iv. 11, Luke viii. 10, as saying, in reference to the truths underlying His parables, *To you it is given to know the mysteries of the kingdom of heaven, but to them it is not given.* His words imply that in the gospel there are secrets not to be learnt by mere human research, known only by those to whom God reveals them. Similarly in Matthew xi. 25: *Thou hast hidden these things from wise and prudent ones, and hast revealed them to babes.* Here, as more definitely in Sirach xxvii. 16, Romans xvi. 25, 1 Corinthians ii. 10, Ephesians iii. 4, 5, the word *reveal* is the exact counterpart to *mystery*.

The thought thus expressed by Christ, which does not seem to have arrested the attention of the other New Testament writers, took firm hold of the mind of Paul. This may perhaps be accounted for by his closer contact with Greek thought and life, which would naturally make him familiar with the technical use of the word now found in the Greek records of the teaching of Christ. Not that our Lord referred to the Greek mysteries. But these were a conspicuous concrete embodiment of a truth underlying His teaching in whatever language given. It is quite possible that this concrete embodiment might shed light on the truth underlying the words of Christ. And it is worthy of note that the word *mystery*, in the sense in which Christ used it, and teaching practically identical with His, frequently reappear in the teaching of the Apostle of the Gentiles.



How deeply inwoven into the thought of St. Paul was the conception of the gospel as a secret hidden during long ages, but now revealed by special illumination from God, and revealed only to those who have attained Christian maturity, we learn from 1 Corinthians ii. 6-11: *We speak wisdom among the full-grown: . . . wisdom of God in a mystery, the hidden wisdom: . . . which not one of the rulers of this age knew: for had they known, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory. . . . But to us God revealed it through the Spirit.* So in Romans xvi. 25: *Revelation of a mystery kept in silence during eternal ages, but manifested now.* So Ephesians iii. 3-5: *By way of revelation He made known to me the mystery; . . . which in other generations was not made known to the sons of men, as now it has been revealed to His holy apostles and prophets in the Spirit.*

What are these secret truths? They are those profounder views of God, of His love to man and His ways with man, of Christ and His salvation, which in all ages have been the blessed privilege of those who dwell in the nearer presence of God and look most deeply into His mind and purpose. This is the beatific vision of Christian life on earth. It eludes the keenest glance of mere intellect. None behold it except those whom God takes by the hand and leads, often amid storms and darkness, along a path known only by Himself, to the secret place in which He reveals to His chosen ones a light Divine unseen by all others.

In a somewhat lower sense, as a truth not generally known, the same word is used in Romans xi. 25, 1 Corinthians xv. 51.

Notice carefully that this inner light shines upon men only through the recorded words of Christ and the teaching of the Apostles. The revealing Spirit opens our hearts to understand the Scriptures. What we cannot read there

by application of the strict rules of historical and grammatical criticism we have no right to assume to be from God. For the written Word is the only standard by which we can distinguish eternal truth from the vagaries of our own imagination. Upon this solid objective basis must rest man's thoughts about God. But mere scholarship can never learn the deeper truths of the gospel. To reveal these, frequently through the avenue of scholarship, is the prerogative of the Holy Spirit. But, although He expounds, He never adds to the written word. Possibly to this the Saviour refers in John xvi. 13, on the night of His betrayal: *He will not speak from Himself, i.e. from His own prompting; but so many things as He shall hear will He speak.* In the alliance of exact and broad scholarship with spiritual light we have the true place and the sufficient safeguard of Christian mysticism.

Notice also an essential difference between the mysteries of heathendom and those of Christianity. The teaching at Eleusis was entrusted under pledge of secrecy. Every mystic was solemnly bound never to divulge it. Thus classic paganism hid its best teaching under cover of darkness. But the secrets of Christianity, every one who hears is bidden to proclaim. For the good news brought by Christ is designed for all men. Yet, strange to say, they are secrets still. Proclaimed from the housetops, they are understood only by those whose ears and eyes and heart God opens. Well may St. Paul say in 1 Corinthians ii. 6, 7, *We speak wisdom among the full-grown: . . . God's wisdom in a mystery.*

We now understand how the Apostle had learnt to be content even in his dungeon at Rome, and had learnt with safety to sink into the gloom of adversity and to rise into the sunshine of prosperity. He tells us that he had been initiated into the mysteries of the gospel. He had been into the secret chamber of God, and had learnt there all that

he most needed to know. He had seen the hand of God marking out for each of His children a wisely chosen path, and guiding and sustaining them along it. That path he could not but joyfully accept. Along it, up or down, grasping his Father's hand, he walked safely. And now all is well. The dungeon has lost its horrors and the grave its terrors. For on his path and in his heart hath shone eternal light.

Of the wonderful experience described in vers. 11, 12, ver. 13 forms the more wonderful climax.

It has often been said that knowledge is power. In the Christian life this is absolutely true. Spiritual strength is a constant result of spiritual knowledge. For he who knows God is armed with the omnipotence of God. Therefore he who knows the Christian secret is able to surmount every obstacle in his path and to do everything he needs to do.

We may perhaps reproduce the exact sense and emphasis of St. Paul's words by translating or paraphrasing: *for all things I have strength in Him who gives me power.*

The word here rendered *I-have-strength* denotes primarily physical strength, then metaphorically something analogous to physical strength. The corresponding adjective describes in Matthew xii. 29 the strong man who must be bound before another can enter his house and plunder his goods. In Luke xv. 14 we have *a mighty famine*; and in Revelation v. 2, xviii. 21, *a strong angel*. Its use in the passage before us suggests the reality of St. Paul's spiritual strength. It was as real to him as muscular strength to a strong man.

The accusative *all-things* gives the measure of this strength. This all-inclusive term needs, and will tolerate, no modification. The writer is conscious of unlimited power. It is true that there are many things he does not wish to do. And some of these he could not do if he would. But inability to do what we do not wish is no real limitation of our power. God is none the less omnipotent

because He *cannot lie*. For the ordinary objects of human ambition, St. Paul cares not. They therefore lie outside his mental horizon. But he earnestly desires to go along the path marked out for him by God, to lay hold (Phil. iii. 12) of that for which Christ has laid hold of him. Now this path is beset by obstacles which human strength cannot surmount. It leads over impassable mountains, and is occupied by powerful foes. But before the advancing step of the prisoner at Rome the foes retreat and the mountains sink into a plain. The words before us mean that to him there is no longer in the Christian life a question of *can* or *cannot*. He has no need to measure the strength of his enemies or the steepness of his path. *All things are possible to him that believeth*. This consciousness of infinite power demands, as its only fitting expression, the strong words we are now considering.

That this unlimited strength is not human, but Divine, is at once evident. Its source St. Paul has no need to mention precisely. He merely notes that it comes from some one other than himself: *in Him who gives me power*. The constant teaching of St. Paul assures us that he refers to his life in Christ. But some early copyists thought fit to add to the sacred text a single word explaining that which needs no explanation. Probably the inserted word, *Christ*, was first put in the margin. Indeed we find it there in the earliest existing copy of the epistle in which it is found, *viz.* the Sinai manuscript. The original scribe wrote simply, as the last words of a paragraph, *in Him who gives me power*. A corrector, two or three centuries later, added, perhaps by way of explanation, after the words given above the word *Christ*. So suitable did the explanation seem that later copyists inserted it in the text of their copies; and the reading soon became practically universal. It thus found its way into our Authorized Version. So confident of its spuriousness were the Revisers that they have not



noted its existence even by a marginal note. In the existing manuscripts of the works of Origen the explanatory gloss is enlarged into *Christ Jesus*,<sup>1</sup> and in one place<sup>2</sup> into *Christ Jesus our Lord*.

The phrase, *in Him who*, etc., and the equivalent phrases, *in Christ*, *in the Lord*, are a conspicuous feature both of the language and of the deep thought of St. Paul. Christ was the home, the bulwark, the surrounding element, the vital atmosphere, of his soul. And He dwells in those who dwell in Him, as their life and wisdom and strength. Therefore in Christ, *i.e.* in virtue of his inward union with Christ, Paul was strong. Similarly, in Ephesians iii. 16-19, he prays that *with power* his readers may be *made strong*; and explains his prayer by adding *that Christ may dwell in your hearts*; . . . *that ye may have strength to comprehend . . . the love of Christ*. An important coincidence is found in the words of Christ recorded in John xv.: *He that abideth in Me, and I in him, beareth much fruit: for apart from Me ye can do nothing*.

Notice carefully that ver. 13 states plainly one of the deepest secrets of the Christian life. In outward appearance the path of duty is rough and steep, and seems to be held by mighty foes. The Master bids us advance. In view of our felt weakness and of the strength of our enemies, His command seems almost cruel. But it implies a promise of His presence and help. This promise is one of the severest tests of our faith. Some dare to believe. Or rather, they dare not doubt the word of Him that promiseth. And in His strength they go forward, more than conquerors.

The verses which in this paper I have endeavoured to expound, and many others in which St. Paul describes his own personal religious experience, are a most valuable ele-

<sup>1</sup> So *De Oratione*, sect. 5.

<sup>2</sup> *Contra Celsum*, bk. viii. 70.

ment of Holy Scripture. They reveal to us the immense importance of the human element of the Bible. We have here a man born in sin as we are, inheriting a depraved nature, guilty of personal transgression, yet saved from sin by the grace of God, and describing in words taught by the Spirit of God (1 Cor. ii. 13) the work of the Spirit in his own heart. His words thus reveal to us the possibilities of sinful yet redeemed human nature.

The experience thus described may be ours. Frequently, while contemplating the achievements of others, we feel that their superior endowments place them far above anything to which we can aspire. But these grand words of St. Paul reveal a purpose which God is able and ready to work out in each of us. Whoever hears the gospel feels therein the gentle pressure of the hand of God. That hand seeks to lead him along a divinely chosen path into closer fellowship with Christ, in whom lie hidden the treasures of wisdom and knowledge. As we follow that guiding hand these treasures are disclosed to our wondering gaze. In that light all earthly things are seen in their relation to Christ, and the hand of Christ, which guides and sustains us, is seen controlling and directing all things. And the Spirit of Christ in our hearts makes us sharers of His infinite strength. They who have seen that secret vision and have felt the life-giving touch of that hand can tread safely the most dangerous steps in the path of duty. The glitter of prosperity cannot dazzle them; for its feeble flicker pales before the brightness within. The darkness of adversity cannot terrify; for they walk in the light of life. They are independent of the vicissitudes of fortune and of the uncertainties of to-morrow: for the smile of Christ supplies their every need; and He changeth not.

The path of duty leads sometimes to the edge of a precipice, and there yawns before us an abyss which seems ready to engulf all that we have and are. He who once

asked the sons of Zebedee, *Can<sup>1</sup> ye drink the cup which I drink?* asks now, *Can ye descend into this abyss?* Trembling we reply, in words which shock us by their audacity, but which are really words of faith, *We can.* As of old to the early disciples, the Master confirms the daring reply: *Ye shall.<sup>2</sup>* And supported by the everlasting arms, step by step, we safely descend the awful path. Sometimes the Master points to the heights of earthly success, and asks, “Can ye climb that perilous path?” Himself has taught us the reply. Grasping firmly the guiding hand, we mount the marked out path. And whether we descend or rise, as men describe the lot of men, our life is one long march of triumph; for *in all these things we are more than conquerors through Him that loved us.*

JOSEPH AGAR BEET.

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### THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

#### XIII. THE PRIEST AFTER THE ORDER OF MELCHISEDEC (CHAP. VII. 11-28).

THE didactic significance of this section is, that in Jesus Christ as the Priest after the order of Melchisedec the ideal of priesthood is realized. The truth is established by the method of comparison. That Christ is the best possible Priest is proved by showing that He is better than the familiar Levitical priest. The emphasis of the passage lies now on the inferior, unsatisfactory nature of the Levitical priesthood, now on the supreme, absolute worth of the Messianic Priest.

Having demonstrated the superiority of the Melchisedec priesthood over the Levitical, by setting forth the personal

<sup>1</sup> Mark x. 38.

<sup>2</sup> Ver. 39.

dignity of the priest of Salem as attested by the history, the writer proceeds next to make use of the text from the 110th Psalm for the same purpose. From this famous prophetic oracle he draws no less than three arguments in support of his position. The first infers the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood from the mere fact of another priesthood being promised (vers. 11-14); the second infers its transient nature from the eternal duration ascribed to the new order (vers. 15-20); the third emphasises the fact that the new order of priesthood, in contrast to the old, is introduced with an oath, implying the transcendent importance of the one as compared with the other (vers. 20-22).

The first of these arguments, stripped of all adjuncts, is expressed in these terms: "*If then perfection were by the Levitical priesthood, what further need was there that a different priest should arise after the order of Melchisedec?*" The remaining matter of vers. 11-14 is of the nature of explanatory comment. On two points the writer deemed it necessary to offer explanations: on the term *perfection* (τελείωσις); and on the expression, *the order of Melchisedec*, as implying the origination of a new, different (ἕτερον) type of priesthood, not to be called after the order of Aaron (οὐ κατὰ τὴν τάξιν Ἀαρὼν λέγεσθαι). The parenthetical clause, "for under (rather, upon) it the people received the law" (ver. 11), is his comment on the word τελείωσις. The purpose is to justify the demand of perfection from a priesthood laying claim to finality. It is assumed that a priesthood worthy of and destined to perpetuity must make men "perfect," in the sense of bringing them really near to God, establishing between them and God a true, unimpeded fellowship by the removal of sin. It is further assumed that if perfection in this sense was possible at all under the Mosaic law, it was so in virtue of the Levitical priesthood, seeing that thereon, undeniably, as a foundation,



the people was legally constituted as a people in covenant with God. On both grounds, because it is the function of all priesthoods to perfect the worshipper as to conscience, and because of the central position occupied by the Levitical priesthood in the Mosaic law, it is held to be reasonable to demand of that priesthood, conceived of as laying claim to finality and refusing to be superseded, nothing less than "perfection." To the advocates of Levitical finality is offered the alternative: either perfection or supersession. To the plea, "Our time-honoured priesthood may be permanently useful in its own place, as part of a greater whole, though it come short of what you call perfection, and aspire not to a virtue which can rightfully be ascribed only to the whole legal system," the stern reply is, "No; it must be all or nothing." And from the oracle in the Psalter it is inferred that it is not capable of being all. By that oracle it is, as matter of fact, superseded; therefore it cannot have been able to provide "perfection." Such is the inexorable logic of the Christian apologist.

Here again we have occasion to note the affinity between our author and the Apostle Paul. Paul said, The law must be everything in salvation or nothing. To the Judaistic compromise, law *and* grace, he replied by an "either—or." Either the law *or* grace, choose your alternative. The same "either—or" reappears here in an altered form. Either perfection must come by the Levitical priesthood, the soul or kernel of the law, or it must pass away as unprofitable, and give place to a different order of priesthood, which can perform the task for which it has been found incompetent.

We come now to the writer's comment on the expression, "the order of Melchisedec." He regards it as involving a *legal revolution*. It means the origination of a different type of priesthood, to be called after Melchisedec, not after Aaron; and it involves therefore change in the law in at

least one point: a priest for the Israel of God who does not belong to the Levitical tribe—a mark of the Messianic priest inferable from prophecy, and verified as a matter of fact in the history of Jesus (vers. 13, 14); this one apparently minute change implying many more. But why insist on the revolutionary effect of the introduction of the new order of priesthood? Would it not have been more prudent in the apologist of Christianity to have concealed or minimised the legal change that was to accompany the advent of the Messianic priest? Such timid, time-serving apologetic did not suit the temper of New Testament writers. Jesus boldly claimed to have brought to the world “new wine,” and all New Testament writers accentuate the innovating effect of Christianity, the writer of our epistle not least. He has the courage to look the revolutionary character of the new religion straight in the face. And his courage is true wisdom. For, in the first place, there is the undeniable fact to be reckoned with, that Jesus Christ sprang out of Judah, “as to which tribe Moses spake nothing about priests.” The only way to deal with such a fact is to find a broad principle that covers and justifies it: such as that the priesthood is the foundation of the legal system, so that a change in the priesthood prepares us to expect manifold change in the law. Then the bold proclamation of this principle, while accounting for the evident fact, at the same time serves admirably the main purpose of the argument, which is to show the radical defectiveness of the Levitical priesthood. Men think twice before they make any change in an existing state of things which involves a political revolution. They bear with innumerable abuses loudly calling for reform, because they fear that if one stone of the building (not to speak of the foundation) be removed, the whole edifice may come tumbling down. What then may be inferred from the fact, that God, by the mouth of a prophet, declared His intention to inaugurate a new

priesthood that should supersede the old, and by consequence abrogate the whole legal system whereof it was the foundation? Surely this, that in His view, and in very truth, the Levitical priesthood was hopelessly insufficient, incapable of fulfilling the ends for which a priesthood exists, fit only to foreshadow the true priesthood by which perfection might come, and by its defectiveness to prepare men for thankfully embracing the "better hope," no matter with how much innovation on existing usage it might be ushered in.

It is probable that the "evident fact," that our Lord did not belong to the tribe of Levi, appeared to Hebrew Christians an insuperable objection to His claim to be a priest. We cannot therefore but admire the tact with which our author virtually turns it into an argument in support of that claim. It is not difficult to construct such an argument out of his rapid hints. It is to this effect. In the 110th Psalm, the rise of a new order of priesthood is predicted. This change is revolutionary; it involves the upsetting of the whole Mosaic law, whereof the Levitical priesthood was the foundation. Any amount of innovation may be looked for under the new order of priesthood. We need not be surprised if we find that the Messianic priest when he comes does not belong to the tribe of Levi; on the contrary, we ought to regard that circumstance as a matter of course, for a descendant of Aaron would not be a suitable person to inaugurate an entirely new order of priesthood.

This is one use to which our Lord's descent from Judah might be put, that, *viz.*, of showing that in so far as He did not trace His descent to Levi His history corresponded to what the oracle in the Psalter would lead one to expect. There is another service which it could be made to render, and which possibly it did render to some of the Hebrew Christians as they reflected thereon. It

might help to cure inordinate fondness for the religious ordinances of the old dispensation by suggesting a process of reasoning backwards thus : Jesus is the Christ : we all believe that ; but Jesus is descended from David, not from Aaron. Yet is He a priest, according to the oracle. But a priest not connected with the tribe of Levi, what an innovation, what a revolutionary transgression of the law that is ! It is no light thing to set aside, virtually to disannul, a law given thousands of years ago to our fathers. If such a momentous step was necessary, what an unsatisfactory affair must the Levitical system of priests and sacrifices, after all, have been ! Why then cling to such poor, beggarly elements when that which is perfect is come ?

The second argument drawn from Psalm cx. to prove the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood is stated in these terms : *And it is yet more abundantly evident, if, according to the similitude of Melchisedec, there ariseth a different priest, who hath become priest, not according to the law of a fleshly commandment, but according to the power of an indissoluble life. For He is witnessed to that "Thou art a priest FOR EVER after the order of Melchisedec."*

The thing that is said to be evident here is, not that which is declared to be evident in ver. 14, but the general thesis which the writer is engaged in establishing ; *viz.* the unsatisfactory character of the Levitical priesthood, making change of the priesthood, and consequently of the whole law, necessary. The use of a different word (*κατάδηλον* instead of *πρόδηλον*) puts us on our guard against supposing that the reference is still to the fact that our Lord sprang out of Judah ; and possibly points to a different kind of evidence, that which comes through logical inference, as distinct from that supplied by facts. The writer means to say, that the argument he now proceeds to state makes it even more evident than the one previously advanced that by the Levitical priesthood perfection could not and never



was intended to come.<sup>1</sup> And the justice of the affirmation becomes apparent when we consider the drift of this new argument. The emphasis lies on the expression *for ever* (εἰς τὸν αἰῶνα). The writer views the phrase as at once signalling the peculiar excellence of the new order, and dooming to decay and death the old order for its weakness and unprofitableness. From the mere fact that a new order is instituted he has already inferred that the old order was inadequate; and now from the *eternal* character of the new order he infers with, if possible, even more cogency the transient nature of the old.

The terms in which, under this new point of view, the two priesthoods are contrasted are very forcible. They transcend the limits of the argument, and suggest thoughts which an expositor must refrain from expatiating on, lest the connected chain of reasoning be lost sight of. There is a double contrast hinted at in ver. 16: first, one between *law* and *power*; and next, one between a *fleshly* commandment and an *endless* life. The former distinguishes the Levitical priesthood, as resting on positive law, from the Messianic, as resting on spiritual fitness and energy. The Levitical priest was law-made, without reference to spiritual qualifications; the Messianic Priest becomes a priest because He hath inherent spiritual fitness for, and therefore inherent right to, the office. The latter contrast distinguishes the Levitical priest as liable to death from the Messianic Priest as one over whom death has no power. For the epithet *fleshly* (σαρκίνης),<sup>2</sup> applied to the commandments regulating

<sup>1</sup> Many commentators think that what is declared evident in ver. 14 is the change in the law. But it is not the mere fact of change, but the *need* for it, created by the defect of the Levitical priesthood, that the writer has in view. So Bengel: "*Patet, scilicet illud quod versu 11 asseritur (nullam consummationem factam esse per sacerdotium leviticum).*"

<sup>2</sup> This is the true reading, not σαρκικῆς as in T.R. Adjectives in *vos* denote the material of which anything is made. Thus we have, in 2 Cor. iii. 3, οὐκ ἐν πλαξίν λιθίναις ἀλλ' ἐν πλαξίν καρδίαις σαρκίναίς: "not on stone tablets but on tablets consisting in fleshen hearts." The adjective σαρκικός expresses a moral idea, for which the word "carnal" should be reserved.

appointments to the priestly office, points to the fact that all the conditions had reference to the corruptible body. A man's fitness for office was determined by physical considerations. He must be the son of this or that father, without blemish in his body, and so forth. It was altogether an affair of physical descent and fleshly qualities. And just on that account it was transient, not merely in the individual, but in the kind. A priestly order whose existence was based on the properties of corruptible flesh must share the fate of its unstable foundation. Of it, as of the flesh with which it is so closely associated, it was written, "Dust thou art, and to dust shalt thou return." All flesh is grass, and a priesthood based on fleshly requirements must of necessity fall before the scythe of Time, while the priesthood of spirit and righteousness, like the word of God, and all things Divine, liveth and abideth for ever.

Just such a thought is it that our author finds in the 110th Psalm. The oracle uttered there sounds to his ear as an echo of the voice from the wilderness. He hears in it the death-knell of the priesthood of Levi and of the whole law with which it was connected, and at the same time the Divine fiat which calls into being a new dispensation. Hence the sentences which follow (vers. 18, 19), wherein the writer states what he takes to be the practical effect of the solemn announcement in the psalm. The rendering of these verses in the Authorized Version totally misses the sense; it is perhaps the greatest and most serious of many failures occurring in the epistle. What is really said is this: "There takes place (through the oracle in the psalm), on the one hand (*μὲν*), a disannulling of the commandment going before, on account of its weakness and unprofitableness (for the law perfected nothing); and (there takes place through the same oracle), on the other hand (*δέ*), the introduction thereupon of a better hope, through which we draw

nigh to God." In short, the text from the psalm is to our author a bell, which with solemn tones rings out the old order of things, and at the same moment rings in the new; rings out the priesthood of Levi and the Levitical sacrifices, and rings in the Christ that is to be and that sublime sacrifice of Himself which once offered shall possess eternal worth and undying virtue. As he listens with devout attention to the solemn peal, he feels as if it said to him: "The priesthood of physical descent is weak and unprofitable. It must pass away, so must the whole ritual law; for it is all alike weak and useless; it makes nothing perfect, it fails of its professed end throughout. But be of good cheer; Christ is coming; another and a very different Priest shall arise, one who is really and perfectly holy, and of regal dignity, and whose priesthood rests on personal merit, not on fleshly descent. He will make all things perfect. What the old law could not do, because of its weakness, He will do effectually. Place your hope in Him; for He will meet all your need, sanctify you, bring you nigh and keep you nigh to God."

"A BETTER HOPE, THROUGH WHICH WE DRAW NIGH UNTO GOD." If one were to attempt by typography to indicate the great, salient thoughts of this epistle, these words would certainly have to be printed in capitals. They contain the dogmatic centre of the epistle, setting forth Christianity as the religion of the better hope by comparison with the earlier religion; absolutely as the religion of good hope, because the religion through which men for the first time enter into intimate fellowship with God. This, as has been indicated in the introductory paper, is the distinctive conception of the Christian religion, or of the good which came by Jesus Christ, contained in our epistle. In the synoptical gospels the *summum bonum* appears as the kingdom of God; in the fourth gospel, as eternal life; in Paul's epistles, as the righteousness of God; in the Epistle to the

Hebrews, as free access to, unrestricted fellowship with, God. The thing is one, though the names and the view-points are diverse; and under any of the four aspects Christianity is well entitled to be called the religion of good hope, the religion that absolutely satisfies the highest hopes and aspirations of mankind. Corresponding to the four phases of the good He brings are the functions of the Saviour. He introduces into the kingdom of God as the Son of God and Son of man: He communicates eternal life as the Logos; he makes men partakers of the Divine righteousness as their federal Head; He brings them nigh to God as their great High Priest, the aspect under which He is appropriately presented in this epistle.

The third argument taken from the text in Psalm cx. to prove the inferiority of the Levitical and the incomparable superiority of the Messianic priesthood rests on the fact that the new order is introduced with an oath (vers. 20-22). By a lengthy parenthesis (ver. 21) pointing out the difference between the two priesthoods in the matter of the oath, the statement of the argument is rendered elliptical but not obscure, for the meaning obviously is: "Inasmuch as not without an oath He was made priest, by so much more must the constitution in connexion with which He exercises His sacerdotal functions be superior to the old."

The principle of the argument is, that God doth not swear oaths idly. When He says, "I have sworn, and will not repent," the matter on hand must be supremely important, and of an enduring nature. The new priesthood must be one of whose institution He will never have any cause to repent. It is implied that the old priesthood was one of which God had cause to repent. The oracle insinuates that God had found the Levitical institute after trial unsatisfactory; and as if weary of its law-made officials, and of their daily task of butchery and bloodshed, He swears a solemn oath saying: "As I live, I will bring this fleshly



system to an end. I will ordain a new Priest not of Aaron's line, who shall perform His work in a very different way, whose character and service shall be to Me an everlasting delight, and whose merit shall benefit sinners time without end."

But it is noteworthy that in connexion with this final argument from the psalm, based on the oath, it is not so much the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood that is insisted on, as the inferiority of the dispensation under which they served. What is said is not, Because He is made a priest with an oath, therefore He exercises a superior kind of priesthood; but, Because He is made a priest with an oath, therefore He is become surety of a *better covenant*. It is now not the men of the olden time, but the whole system of things with which they are associated, that is found wanting, the very fundamental constitution of the Israelitish commonwealth, by which it was made a people of God. The writer waxes ever bolder as he advances. First the priesthood is condemned; then the law creating and regulating it; then the covenant, which gave birth, not merely to the priesthood, but to the very people for which it transacted in holy things. The introduction of this reference to the covenant at first surprises us. We partly understand it when we observe that, in the next section of the epistle, the covenants old and new become a leading subject of discourse. It is another instance of the skilful interweaving of a new theme into the one about to be dismissed. But we understand the new turn of thought fully only when we perceive that it fitly belongs to what goes before. When we attach due importance to the great idea expressed by the words, "*Through which we draw nigh to God*," this becomes clear. By the covenant at Sinai Israel became a people related to God, theoretically near to Him. But only theoretically. Israel was nigh, yet not nigh, not merely because of her sin, but through the very ordinances

that were designed to express and maintain the intimacy; witness the Levitical priesthood, the veil, and the inaccessible holy place. Thinking of this, our author feels that the Sinaitic covenant, which brought Israel nominally near to God, was a poor, disappointing thing, a failure, like all else belonging to the old religion. It might have cost him an effort to say so, had not Jeremiah with prophetic liberty said it before him. But, encouraged by Jeremiah's famous oracle of the new covenant, he does say so, by implication, by speaking of Jesus as the surety or guarantor of a *better* covenant. It is for him a better covenant, because it does really what the old covenant did only in name, *viz.* brings men nigh to God. And he calls Jesus "surety" (ἔγγυος) of the better covenant, because it is He who prevents it also from being a failure like the old. There is literary felicity in the use of the word, as playfully alluding to the foregoing word ἐγγιζόμεν. There is more than literary felicity, for the two words probably have the same root, so that we might render ἔγγυος *the one who insures permanently near relations with God.*<sup>1</sup>

We have now to notice the last of the five arguments adduced to prove the inferiority of the Levitical priesthood, as compared with that of the Priest after the order of Melchisedec, which turns on the contrast between *many* and *one*. It is to this effect. The old priesthood was im-

<sup>1</sup> On the word ἔγγυος, Passow remarks: "Probably of the same origin with ἔγγυος, ἐγγύη, from γυῖον = lying to the hand." Referring to the view that ἔγγυος forms a *paranomasia* with ἐγγιζόμεν, Bleek expresses doubt on account of the distance between the two words, and thinks it more probable that ἔγγυος is used out of regard to the similarity of sound between it and γέγοθεν going before. The question has been much discussed among commentators, whether Jesus is surety for men to God (so the old theologians of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches), or for God to men (so Schlichting, Grotius, and others), or both (so Limborch, Baumgarten, etc.). The question really cannot be decided. The word occurs here only in the New Testament, and all that can be certainly taken out of it is the general idea that Jesus insures the stability of the new covenant and of the close relations between God and men which it establishes. All beyond has to be read into it.

perfect in this, that it was exercised by many priests in succession; the new is perfect in this, that the office is held in perpetuity by one Person, who continueth for ever, and therefore hath a priesthood that doth not pass from Him to another (*ἀπαράβατον*: vers. 23, 24). To appreciate the full force of the argument, it is well to remember that even under the Levitical system the importance of having a continuous priesthood was felt. To such a feeling may be ascribed the fact that Aaron and his sons were consecrated simultaneously. Some think that this simultaneous consecration is alluded to in the text, when it is said that "they indeed have been made many priests." There can be no doubt, at all events, that one end served by simultaneous ordination was to provide for the office being continuously occupied. From the nature of the case this was desirable. If there was need for a priest at all, there was need for one at all times; the office must abide without intermission, though the official might change. It is interesting to notice in this connexion, that Eleazar was invested with the office of high priest before Aaron his father died. Moses took both father and son up to Mount Hor, and stripping the sacerdotal garments from the father put them on the son, whereupon the first occupant of the office breathed out his life.<sup>1</sup> Such precautions might serve after a fashion to secure for Israel an unchangeable priesthood. But if it were possible to have one priest never dying, and performing efficiently his duties perennially, that were obviously a more excellent way. If not only the priesthood, but the priest were continuous, that were the ideally perfect state of things. Our author here informs his readers that such is the actual state of things under the priesthood of Jesus. He, because He abideth for ever, hath the priesthood unchangeably.

The New Testament Priest was not exempt from death.

<sup>1</sup> Num. xx. 28.

He too, like Aaron, ascended a hill to die. But that fact is not in contradiction to the doctrine enunciated. He did not require to hand over His office to another, for death was not to have power over Him. He died as one possessing the power of an indissoluble life, taking death up as an element into his life, through which its power, instead of being destroyed or impaired, was rather enhanced. He rose again, and after forty days ascended another hill, not to die, but to be translated to the celestial sanctuary, there to abide a Priest for ever.

So we come back, at the close of the argument, to the point from which we started: the Priest after the order of Melchisedec, superior to the Levitical priests in all respects, but especially in this, that He is a Priest for ever. And by an easy transition we pass on to the natural consequence of Christ's unchangeable priesthood. "Whence also He is able to save perfectly those that draw near unto God through Him, seeing He ever liveth to intercede for them" (ver. 25).

Noticeable here are the terms in which Christ's power to help men is described. He is able to *save perfectly* all who seek to attain the end of all religion, close fellowship with God. In making this statement, the writer has in view what he has said of the Levitical priesthood, *viz.* that perfection came not by it. He here says in effect, Perfection does come by Jesus. But he does not say this in so many words. He prefers to vary the phrase, aiming at the greatest possible breadth and strength of statement. "Perfection," τελείωσις, narrows the range of benefit, pointing chiefly if not exclusively to the pardon of sin. Therefore for this word is substituted the more general and comprehensive σώζειν, suggesting the idea of salvation in all its aspects. Then the root idea of τελείωσις, reaching the end, is thrown into the adverbial phrase εἰς τὸ παντελές, which may be rendered "perfectly," "completely," "to all



intents and purposes." Thereby is ascribed to Christ the power of conferring a salvation uniting in itself all possible "perfections," accomplishing all manner of devoutly to be wished beneficent ends: pardon of sin, spiritual renewal, defence against temptation to apostasy, maintenance of Christian fidelity, even unto death. It has been discussed whether *παντελής* contains a reference to time. Such a reference is very natural in connexion with the asserted unchangeableness of Christ's priesthood; and for us who live so far down in the Christian centuries, it is an inevitable homiletic use of the text. But as the writer expected the consummation soon, the temporal reference must, to say the least, have had a very subordinate place in his mind. His aim was to ascribe the highest degree of saving power to Jesus, in contrast to the impotence with which he had previously charged the Levitical priesthood. The law, he would say, the Levitical priesthood, completed nothing, not even the cancelling of guilt; Christ completes everything that enters into the idea of salvation, as most comprehensively conceived. Thus understood, this text favours the broad construction I put upon the title "the Sanctifier," given to Jesus in chap. ii. 11, as including sanctification in the ethical Pauline sense, as well as the narrower sense of "justification," in which it is sometimes used in this epistle.

Noticeable further in the remarkable sentence now under consideration are the means or method by which Christ is represented as perfectly saving those who through Him approach God. He saves by *intercession*, for such doubtless is the meaning of the word *ἐντυγχάνειν*. In classic usage it signifies to meet with. In Acts xxv. 24 it is construed with a dative, and a genitive governed by *περί*, and signifies to deal with one concerning a matter. Here, as in Romans viii. 26, when it is compounded with *ὑπέρ*, it means to intercede, or more generally to transact on

behalf of. That the notion of intercession, speaking for, is mainly intended appears from what follows, the object of which is to point out that Christ, in consequence of His perfection, does not need to offer sacrifice, or to do anything more than intercede, in contrast to the Levitical priests, who, by reason of their infirmity, had to offer up sacrifices daily. The writer would say: "A word from Him is enough. As by His word of power He created and upholds all things, so by a word He can bring to bear all the resources of the Almighty for the complete and final salvation of His brethren." What power can be greater than this?

A word of intercession—nothing more is required; one who by a mere word can save is the sort of High Priest that meets our need—such is the import of what remains of this chapter (vers. 26-28). The Priest that suits us, that can perfect us as to our relations with God, that can bring us nigh and keep us nigh to God, is one perfectly righteous in all relations, "holy" towards God, benevolent towards men, free from any fault that might disqualify Him for His priestly office, separated locally from sinners by translation to the blessed region of peace, where He is exempt from temptation and eternally secure against moral evil, exalted to a position of supercelestial glory and power in full and equal fellowship with His Father, needing not to offer repeated sacrifices, or to do anything whatever in our interest beyond interceding for us. Here at last is the writer's ideal of priesthood. In determining the marks of the Melchisedec type, he omitted to say how far they satisfied the ideal, or to indicate what the ideal was. Here, at the close of the discussion on the new type, he supplies the lack by sketching in a few rapid strokes an ideal priest. Does the ideal answer to the type? is it drawn with the type in view, and in order to assign more definite values to certain terms left vague—king, righteousness, peace? It is not improbable that the beginning and the end thus

meet in the author's thought, and that the terms ὅσιος, ἄκακος, ἀμίαντος define "righteousness," that the phrase κεχωρισμένος ἀπὸ τῶν ἁμαρτωλῶν interprets "peace," and that ὑψηλότερος τῶν οὐρανῶν γεγόμενος indicates the significance of "king."

Thus far all seems clear; but what shall we say of the last trait in the picture of the ideal Priest, which represents Him as one who needs not to repeat sacrifice? Is this an element in the ideal to which there is no counterpart in the type? In determining the marks of the Melchisedec type, our author said nothing about sacrifice. He may however have thought of Melchisedec as offering no sacrifices, and have regarded this fact also as possessing typical significance. In so doing he would simply have been applying his method of determining the type by laying stress on the silences as well as the utterances of Scripture. If this suggestion be correct, then we must regard the statement concerning the non-repetition of sacrifice as a supplement to the doctrine of the type reserved for the close of the discussion, as the place where it could most fitly and impressively be introduced.

In the writer's mind this last feature is connected with those going before, and especially with those relating to the moral character of the ideal Priest, as effect with cause. Because He is "holy, harmless, undefiled," *therefore* He needs not to repeat sacrifice; and this is His crowning merit. To the Hebrew Christians it would probably appear a grave defect, rather than a merit, in the Priest after the order of Melchisedec, that He was not constantly occupied in offering sacrifices like the priests after the order of Aaron. The morning and evening sacrifices, and the great day of atonement annually recurring, what a comfort! And what a blank would be created were these swept away, and nothing similar took their place! Their teacher gives them to understand that they are mistaken,

and that the repetition of sacrifice in the Levitical system was due to the moral imperfection of the offerers. He does not mean to say that it was wholly due to this cause, for he elsewhere traces it to the nature of the sacrifices (chap. x. 1-11). But he does mean to say that it was due in part to this cause, and that is the point which he deems it needful to insist on here. The infirmity of the priest made it necessary that he should offer repeated sacrifices for himself, and because for himself, therefore for the people; for the priestly offices of sinful officials could not avail to remove the people's sins for ever, if indeed at all. On the other hand, the High Priest of the new, better order has no need to offer repeated sacrifices, either for Himself or for His people. Not for Himself, because He has been perfected both in character and in state for evermore.<sup>1</sup> Free from sin, even in His earthly state, when subject to temptation, though not free from sinless infirmity, and worthy even then to be described by the august attributes "holy, harmless, undefiled," He is now in a position in which sin is out of the question. Not for others, because He offered for sinners a perfect sacrifice once for all.

That sacrifice was *Himself*. The great thought comes in here for the first time. Once struck, as Delitzsch says, the note sounds on ever louder and louder. It comes in very relevantly here in connexion with an argument designed to prove that repetition of sacrifice was a mark of inferiority and weakness adhering to the Levitical system, and that the non-repetition of sacrifice was an equally sure

<sup>1</sup> The term *τετελειωμένος*, ver. 28, here, as in ii. 10 and v. 9, means to fit for office. The fitness in this case embraces two elements: a character rendered temptation-proof, and a position inaccessible to temptation. That both elements are included appears from the description of the ideal priest in ver. 26. The idea of "consecration" is foreign to the connexion of thought. The same remark applies to ver. 11. The rendering of Mr. Rendall, "seeing again that there was a consecration under the Levitical priesthood," seems to me to involve the argument in confusion.



mark of the superiority of the Christian dispensation. For the nature of the sacrifice in either case had an important bearing on the question of repetition or non-repetition. The ancient priest of Israel, himself morally stained, had to offer a brute beast physically faultless, a mere shadowy emblem of holiness; and such offerings being intrinsically worthless, he had to present them again and again by way of renewing an impressive spectacle. The High Priest of humanity offered *Himself*, and by the very act demonstrated Himself to be perfectly holy, presenting in His death an embodiment of exact, loving obedience to the Divine will and of self-effacing devotion to the well-being of man; and just because the offering was the very ideal of sacrifice realized, it needed not to be repeated. The offering was presented once for all, and stands there before the universe a thing perfectly well done, recognisable as an eternally valid and valuable act by all men of purged vision, whose minds are not blinded, as were those of the Hebrews, by long familiarity with and doting attachment to the beggarly elements of a rude ritual.

But how does this sacrifice "of nobler name" stand related to the "order of Melchisedec"? Does it lie within or without the type? On first thoughts it seems as if the answer must be "without." Not only does it take place on earth, while the Melchisedec priesthood belongs to heaven, where no sacrifice is offered *de novo*, but there appears to be nothing in the history of Melchisedec which would lead us to look for such a sacrifice. Neither by the utterances nor by the silences of Scripture does it seem possible to arrive at *self-sacrifice* as one of the notes of the Melchisedec type. By the silences we might rather arrive at the conclusion that there was, not merely no repetition of sacrifice, but no sacrifice at all, in the new order, and that its functions were limited to prayer and benediction. There is only one way of escape out of the difficulty, though it

may be doubted if it was in the writer's thoughts. We have seen that the non-repetition of sacrifice results from the moral attributes of the ideal Priest. Because He is "holy, harmless, undefiled," therefore He needs not to be continually performing new sacrificial acts. What if the one sacrifice be also the result of the same moral attributes? What if the whole truth be, "holy, harmless, undefiled," in one word, perfectly righteous, therefore *one* sacrifice and *only* one, and that sacrifice *Himself*? This would lead us to regard Christ's death as the natural effect of His fidelity to the interests of God and man in this evil world. And this is the simple truth. Whatever theological significance may attach to that death, this is the fundamental fact on which our theological construction must rest. The first lesson Jesus taught His disciples on the meaning of His passion was, that His cross came to Him through loyalty to duty, that He suffered for righteousness' sake.<sup>1</sup> In the light of this doctrine we comprehend why there was one sacrifice, and only one, and that one "Himself." There was one sacrifice, because the Holy One lived in an evil world, to which His holiness, even, yea, above all, His love, His brotherly sympathy with man, was an offence; and they cried in fierce intolerance, "Crucify Him." There was only one sacrifice, because after His death He was raised to the region of peace, "where the wicked cease from troubling, and the weary are at rest."

By this train of thought it appears to be demonstrable that self-sacrifice enters as an element into the Melchisedec type. There can be no doubt at all that it is an essential feature of the *ideal* Priesthood. The highest possible priesthood is that in which priest and victim are one, and the only true sacrifice is that which results from character, and reveals, is offered through, the indwelling spirit. The proof of this is the Spirit of Christ witnessing in our

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xvi. 24.

hearts. There is no other proof. If a man does not see this for himself, typological arguments, whether from Melchisedec or from Aaron, will not help him. We see only what we bring. Another thing the man of open spiritual vision understands: that the real nature of Christ's sacrifice is to be learned from His life on earth. The perplexities arising out of the typological form into which the truth concerning Christ's priesthood is cast in our epistle have driven some to find His true sacrifice in a perpetual service of love and praise rendered by Him to God in heaven. It is rather to be found in His earthly career of heroic fidelity to God amid incessant temptation culminating in the crucifixion. There lies the pathos, the moral power, and the inspiration which helps us to live well. Thence we know anything we do know of the spirit of Christ's life in heaven. His spirit is "eternal"; the mind that is in Him now is the same mind that animated Him while He lived in this world. But it is the mind that *was* in Him that interprets to us the mind that *is* in Him. And it is the spirit of His earthly life that gives value to His heavenly life for God and for men. The temporal at once illuminates and enshrines the eternal. Without those sacred years lived under Syrian skies the eternal life of the High Priest of humanity would be for us an infinite void, whence issued no light to our minds and no comfort to our hearts.

The view here contended for seems to be that of the author of our epistle in this place. He speaks, not of a perpetual sacrifice in heaven, but of the sacrifice which Christ presented once for all "when He offered up Himself."<sup>1</sup> If he speak elsewhere of Christ offering sacrifice

<sup>1</sup> The question has been discussed whether *τοῦτο* (ver. 27, last clause) includes both the previous clauses: "First for His own sins, then for those of the people." Verbal interpretation answers in the affirmative, but the nature of the case requires a negative. The doctrine of the epistle being that Christ was ever sinless, the writer cannot have meant to represent Christ as offering a

in heaven, that is an apparent antinomy to be solved, but it must not be solved by denying that His death on earth was a priestly act.

A. B. BRUCE.

### THE SIXTEENTH PSALM.

#### I.

HERE is a psalm well worthy to be called, as the margin of King James's Bible translates the Jewish heading, a "golden" psalm. Golden indeed it is; it belongs to that Bible within the Bible which the Christian instinct teaches all of us to rediscover for ourselves, and in which the New Testament writers took such keen delight. In childlike faith these holy men of old found their Saviour in the 16th Psalm; and so may we, on the single condition that we do not disregard those laws of the human mind which God Himself made. Childlike faith must in us be coupled with manly reasonableness. The first believers practically rewrote the Psalter for edification, without thinking of its original meaning; they took every one of the 150 psalms into the shrine of Gospel utterances. We who come after them cannot give this particular proof of our belief in the divinity of the Old Testament revelation. In adapting the Psalms to the needs of edification, we who desire to consecrate our intellect to Christ must seek counsel of a criticism and an exegesis which are nothing if they are not psychological; that is, if they are not in full accordance with the laws of the human mind.

It is a noteworthy fact, that the latest German com-

ⲓⲁⲥⲣⲓⲑⲉ for His own *sins*. Those who make *τοῦτο* include both have to take *ἀμαρτιῶν* in the sense of infirmities. So Ochlichtingius and Hofmann.



mentator on the Psalms<sup>1</sup>—the editor of an exposition by that unimpassioned but yet evangelical theologian Hupfeld—has no hesitation in including Psalm xvi. among those which were influenced by the Second or Babylonian Isaiah. Certainly the exegesis which finds Christian elements or anticipations in the psalm is much more credible from a lay point of view upon this theory of the date than upon any other. Let us assume the theory to be correct for the purposes of practical exegesis, and regard this not as a royal, but as a Church-psalm.

*“Preserve me, O God: for in Thee do I put my trust.*

*I have said unto Jehovah, Thou art my Lord.*

*I have no good beyond Thee.”*

The words in the third line are not a mere flower of rhetoric. They tell us that the “pleasant land,” so fruitful and so fair, would have no charm in the eyes of true Israelites without the spiritual glory of the knowledge of Jehovah’s will. Do not mistake the meaning of “I have said.” The speaker does not mean to tell us that at a certain day and hour he “read his title clear” to the Divine favour. No; he refers not to the past, but to the present. The words of the solemn confession have been uttered just now in his heart, and the rest of the psalm is but an expansion of them. “Thou art my Lord; Thou art my only happiness.” How thoroughly Christian this is! The Christian and the Mohammedan both address their God as “Lord,” but in what a different sense! A Christian looks upon his God as not merely his Master, but the director and helper of his work. God and he are united in the same great moral enterprise. The sense of this constitutes his happiness.

*“As for the saints that are in the land,*

*And thine excellent ones, all my delight is in them.”<sup>2</sup>*

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Wilhelm Nowack. See Hupfeld’s *Psalmen*, 3rd edition, vol. i., p. 233.

<sup>2</sup> Here I have been obliged to deviate from the Revised Version. Nor can I

Why this mention of the "saints," or, literally, "holy ones" (*i.e.* the faithful Israelites), and the "excellent (or, glorious) ones" (*i.e.* the priests, who in Isaiah xliii. 28, 1 Chronicles xxiv. 5, are called "holy, or consecrated, princes") almost in the same breath with Jehovah? Because, in the troublesome days which followed the reforms of Ezra and Nehemiah, the society which a man kept was the test of his religion. Israel was surrounded by heathen peoples, and, as Psalm lxxiii. shows, many believers in Jehovah stumbled at the prosperity of the ungodly (*i.e.* of the heathen). Our psalmist disclaims connexion with such; Jehovah is his Lord, and Jehovah's priests are his honoured leaders. The house of David has passed into obscurity, and the priests and the teachers of the Scriptures are more and more seen to be, under God, the true defenders of the Church-nation.

*"They multiply their own griefs, who change (Jehovah) for another."*

The meaning of this depends on our interpretation of the close of the psalm. Presupposing that vers. 10 and 11 involve the belief in "eternal life," one may hold that the above words refer either to the great judgment day, or to the preliminary judgment of the soul after death, when the wicked, as the prophet says, "shall lie down in anguish."<sup>1</sup> How should the psalmist desire the short-lived pleasures of these doomed sinners? "Let me not eat of their dainties," says a like-minded temple-poet.<sup>2</sup> For at every meal there would be a libation of wine to some false god ("blood,"

adopt an ingenious, and, as Nowack thinks, thoroughly satisfactory correction of Baethgen's, based upon the Septuagint and a comparison of Isaiah xlii. 21. I have thought it well however in this conference, if I may call it so, on a much-prized psalm, to give way to the Received Text by retaining the first part of its third verse, as I have already yielded to the Revised Version by adopting its version of the difficult and, as I think, corrupt words in ver. 2 b.

<sup>1</sup> Isa. l. 11.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxli. 4.

our psalmist calls it), and some light idolatrous phrase would be on every tongue. Therefore,—

*“Let me not pour out their drink-offerings of blood,  
Nor take their (idols’) names upon my lips.”*<sup>1</sup>

Observe that this fine psalm is free from imprecations. The speaker gazes in sadness at the poor deluded heathen, and passes by. They have their “portion” in the life of the senses, as the next psalm says;<sup>2</sup> but Israel’s “portion” is not chiefly the “pleasant places” in which *the lines have fallen unto him* (ver. 6), but moral friendship with his God. *“Jehovah is mine appointed portion and cup”* (ver. 5); or, as another poet says,<sup>3</sup> *“Whom have I in heaven (but Thee)?”* meaning that heaven is but “a closer walk with God.” Our psalmist continues, *“Thou art continually my lot.”* “Continually” implies that spiritual blessings are not like “treasures upon earth.” “While he has any being,” the saint will need no other treasure but his God. But the word suggests more than this. There is a larger and a lesser interpretation of the fine word “continually.” If at the end of the psalm the poet should be found to have risen to the conception of “eternal life,” it will be not unreasonable to see an allusion to this already. But the two next verses certainly refer in the main to time present.

*“I bless Jehovah, who hath given me counsel,  
Yea, in the nights my longings prompt me thereto.  
I have set Jehovah before me continually:  
For with him at my right hand I cannot be moved.”*

Wise counsel was indeed the great need of the Israelites who returned from Babylon. Sad would have been their fate, if God had not raised up Ezra as a reformer, and the psalmists as purifiers and fosterers of the spiritual life!

<sup>1</sup> From the first the lawgivers foresaw the dangers of intercourse with the heathen (see Exod. xxiii. 13).

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xvii. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 25.

And what was true of the Church might also be said of each of its members, in so far as they recognised their share in the common work. The comfort of each true believer, as well as of the Church was that expressed by our psalmist in the first part of ver. 7, and by another in the beautiful words, "Thou wilt guide me with thy counsel" (or, "according to thy purpose").<sup>1</sup> In other words, regenerate Israel rejoices in the presence of the Holy Spirit. For this best of gifts the speaker who represents his people blesses Jehovah by day and by night. "Whither can I go from thy spirit?" says another psalmist; "when I awake, I am still with thee."<sup>2</sup> How beautiful! The thought of God is his pillow, and when he rises from his couch, it is to utter the praises of which his heart is full. His eyes are ever towards Jehovah, and he fears not what the future may bring. Trouble itself is a sweet and strengthening wine, because the cup has been filled by the King of love.

How different is the mysticism of psalms like xvi., xvii., and lxxiii. from much that passes by this word of various acceptations! Where but in the Bible can we find an absorption in God which does not prevent a true and tender interest in the cares and sorrows of humanity? There is a morbid and artificial corruption of Bible-mysticism which has done violence to our best natural feelings, and even lighted the flames of religious persecution. But the psalmists whom, from their grasp of the mystery of the life in God, we call "mystic" do not debar themselves from simple, natural pleasures, nor do they close their eyes to the "pleasant places" of their "delightful land." They have got beyond that most pathetic sigh of a wounded spirit, in which the psalmist appeals to God for clemency as a "stranger" and a "sojourner."<sup>3</sup> But

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 24.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cxxxix, 7, 18.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxxix. 12. We can hardly accept the interpretation of this passage



they would cheerfully give up all for God and His law; the Jewish Church is being prepared for the great persecution of the following period. The psalmist knew that he dwelt in God, and God in him, that as a member of the true Israel he was safe in life and in death. Let us, spiritual Israelites, take a lesson from his faith. Only if we can say to our God, "Thou art my Lord, I have no good beyond thee," can we join with perfect confidence in the prayer, "Preserve me, O God: for in thee do I put my trust." Perfect trust belongs only to him who has surrendered himself wholly to God. How perfect our psalmist's trust is, may be seen from the fact that he does not repeat this prayer. So clear is his believing insight into God's purposes, that his one prayer passes directly into prophecy and into glad rejoicing at an assured inheritance. And why should not our spiritual standard be equally high? Why should we, living in the full light of the Gospel, be outdone by Jewish saints?

For consider. This 16th Psalm is not merely the record of a personal mood, and to be realized only in those exceptional moments when we happen to be in a like mood ourselves. It is a Church-psalm, and describes a state open to every true Jewish Churchman, in so far as he is a Churchman. What was it that made a Jewish Churchman, do you ask? The same which makes each of us a Christian Churchman,—the possession of or the being possessed by the Holy Spirit. The difference between a Jewish and a Christian Churchman is this—that the one had not, and the other has, a clear and consistent idea of the character of his Divine Guest. "God, having of old times spoken unto the fathers in the prophets by divers portions and in divers manners, hath at the end of these days spoken unto

given in Heb. xi. 13-16. The psalmist's tone precludes the idea that he looks forward to "a better country, that is, an heavenly." Would that it were otherwise!

us in his Son, . . . the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance." So says the nameless author of the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the words cast a bright light on the difference between the dispensations. Both were dispensations of the Spirit; but there was a want of uniformity, a want of consistency, a want of clearness in the one which made it painfully difficult to maintain the highest level of spiritual religion. But to us a vision has been granted of One whom the Holy Spirit so filled, that an apostle speaks with equal readiness of the Spirit of God and the Spirit of Christ. The life of Christ is to us the highest embodiment of the Divine Spirit. Why should it be hard to "set God always before us," and to find our sole happiness in Him, when we have such a sweet and affecting picture of the character of God in the Gospel history, and when the Father has sent us such a perfect expositor of the things of Jesus in the Paraclete or Comforter? Few Jewish Churchmen probably had the constant sense of the Spirit abiding upon them; but the meanest Christian Churchman is privileged to have this sense, if so be that he has really believed in Christ, and been "sealed with that Holy Spirit of promise, which is the earnest of our inheritance." Truly may we say, "The lines are fallen unto me in pleasant places; yea, I have a goodly heritage": for to have within us the Spirit of God and of Christ, and to love and trust and rejoice in God, is the secret which transforms this earth into the vestibule of heaven.

## II.

"In the forum of a ruined Roman city in what is now Algeria is a pavement-slab, with an unfinished inscription rudely scratched, and still so fresh that it might have been scratched only a night or two before the overthrow of the city. Within an ornamental bower are the words, 'To

hunt, to bathe, to play, to laugh—that is to live.’” We know the stern but kind judgment which the God in history pronounced on this corrupt type of society. But this low ideal of life was not peculiar to the Romanized subjects of the seven-hilled city. The want of a belief in a second and happier life, open not merely to special favourites of the gods, but to all who followed after righteousness, drove many men at all times into a position practically the same as that of the degenerate Romans. In the autobiographic Book of Ecclesiastes we see an Israelitish thinker succumbing to a sensualistic theory; only at intervals and at the end of the book does a break in the clouds perhaps reveal a loftier view of the aims of life. On the other hand, in the beautiful Book of Wisdom, another Jewish sage, residing at Alexandria, after describing at length the theory and the practice of those who made pleasure their god, expresses his own utter abhorrence of both; and before him the authors of Psalms xvi., xvii., and lxxiii. successfully resist the temptations of sensualism, and burst into the noblest utterances of their own perfect contentment with the true chief good, that is, God. Listen to these words from Psalm xvii. :

*“Deliver my soul from the wicked by thy sword;  
From men of the world, whose portion is in life,  
And whose craving thou fillest with thy treasure.  
As for me, I shall behold thy face in righteousness:  
Let me be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image!”*

Do you not seem to hear the ring of one of St. John’s favourite phrases—“the world”? “Love not the world, neither the things that are in the world.” Psalmist and apostle alike teach that the true life is the life in God, and that the soul’s true home is not a place, call it earth or call it heaven, but the light which no earthly eye can see of Jehovah’s countenance. This is the sweet mysticism of the psalmists, based upon the mystery into which they have been divinely initiated of the “path of life” (ver. 11). To

understand this, it is not enough to be an accomplished critic of words and sentences; a man must have a real affinity to the mind of the psalmists. "He that is spiritual," as St. Paul says, "judgeth all things."<sup>1</sup> For the doctrine of immortality there may be divers logical arguments; but the scholar of the psalmists does not reach it by any of them. It is to him an almost inevitable inference from the facts of his spiritual experience. (I say nothing at present of the great historical fact which completes his assurance.) Living as he does by prayer, and with a sense of the invisible things which grows every day in strength and purity, he cannot imagine that his intimacy with God will come to an abrupt end. His delight is to carry on God's work in the world, even if only by the silent testimony of a godly life; and will he for his recompense be cast out into "the land where all things are forgotten"?<sup>2</sup> There was a time when even psalmists feared this.<sup>3</sup> But how could a saint who so loved God as to say, "Whom have I in heaven but thee?" acquiesce in the thought that God's love to him would be terminated by his death? And why should the lot of those heroic saints of whom tradition told that God had taken them to Himself be an altogether exceptional privilege? And so in Psalms xlix. 15, lxxiii. 23, 24, we seem to overhear whispered anticipations of something not less glorious for each believer than was granted of old to Enoch and Elijah. True happiness to the psalmists is not merely the round of vanities so unblushingly set forth in that Algerian inscription, nor can the "path of life" issue in a delusive *mirage*. Thou, O God, being the saint's "ruler and guide," he can "so pass through things temporal" as "finally not to lose the things eternal." Or rather, there is no sharp antithesis between

<sup>1</sup> 1 Cor. ii. 15.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxxviii. 12 (Prayer-Book Version).

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxx. 8, 9; lxxxviii. 5 (both in R.V.)



this world and the next. Heaven is where God is felt to be. The only distinction which Psalms xvi. and xvii. recognise is life with and life without God.

St. Peter, as reported in the Acts, calls the author of Psalm xvi. a prophet. The psalmists are in fact half-prophets. All prayer is based upon a revelation, and the highest kind of prayer leads on to fresh revelations. Not of course mechanical revelations, if the phrase may be used without offence; the revelations in which a modern exegesis can acquiesce must be and are at once natural and supernatural. The teachers of the Jewish Church-nation re-founded—or, if you will, founded—by Ezra, came to believe as they did by a gradual development, under the Spirit's influence, of germs already in their minds. And some modern interpreters find it a much less strain upon their faith to believe that the "mystic psalms" teach immortality, if these psalms are assigned to the age of Ezra, than when they felt compelled by an uncriticised tradition to refer at any rate Psalms xvi. and xvii. to the rude age of David. The deepening of personal religion which went on during and after the Captivity made it (as one is now permitted to think) natural to the strongest believers to accept the Holy Spirit's highest teaching. Tennyson speaks of "faintly" trusting the "larger hope." The larger hope of those times was personal immortality. It may well be that some Jewish Churchmen could trust it but faintly. But this was not the case with the greater, the mystic psalmists.

*"Therefore my heart is glad, and my glory rejoiceth,  
My flesh also dwelleth confidently;  
For thou wilt not leave my soul to Sheól (or, Hades),  
Neither wilt thou suffer thy godly one to see the pit."*<sup>1</sup>

Does this merely mean that the believer's God will

<sup>1</sup> Ps. xvi. 9, 10 (quoting from R.V., and adopting three marginal renderings). On the rendering "the pit," see Dean Perowne's very moderately expressed note.

deliver him out of his distress, and not suffer him to go down to the grave in the midst of his days? I cannot think it. The psalmist does not pray as in Psalm xiii., "Lighten mine eyes, that I sleep not in death." His tone is calm and his style is smooth. There is in his work none of the abruptness and excitement characteristic of some gloomy persecution psalms.<sup>1</sup> The only trouble he mentions is the continual presence of a gross heathenism, but God preserves him from being cast down even by this. Yes; there are worse troubles than death. To see millions of our fellow creatures subject to moral death is far worse to a Christian than to be called away when his work on earth is done. Read the letters of the heralds of the Cross in heathen lands. "Oh! it is a stifling atmosphere, this," says a zealous French missionary in Africa.<sup>2</sup> "To battle with unmixed heathenism is more painful than our friends at home can imagine. It would be quite unbearable without Him 'in whose presence is fulness of joys.'" You see, he draws comfort from the 16th Psalm. Does he fear death? No; as little as another earnest French believer<sup>3</sup> who said, "I cannot be afraid of death, for I have talked so much with God." The psalmist, be sure, would have said the same thing. The habit of prayer makes it unnatural not to believe in immortality. To say,—

*"O God, thou art my God, early do I seek thee;*

*My soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth after thee,"*<sup>4</sup>

would be impossible, after the problem of the future life had once been raised, if God did not answer the prayer by shedding abroad in the heart the consciousness of eternal

<sup>1</sup> This remark does not apply to Ps. xvii. If Pss. xvi. and xvii. were written in the same period, we must suppose that the heathen, whose presence is felt indeed in Ps. xvi., but not as a cause of disquietude, had begun again to trouble faithful Israel. Circumstances changed as frequently in the days of post-exile Israel as in the life of the great poet-king David.

<sup>2</sup> M. Coillard.

<sup>3</sup> Mme. de Broglie, a friend of Erskine of Linlathen.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. lxi. 1.

life. Let us read the tenth verse again, substituting however the phrase "loving one" for "godly one."

*"For thou wilt not leave (or, abandon) my soul to Hades;  
Neither wilt thou suffer thy loving one to see the pit."*

Now, what does "thy loving one" mean? That depends on what "love" or "lovingkindness" means in the Psalms. You could not guess, even from the Revised Version, how often this word occurs, the translators having too commonly put "mercy" instead of "lovingkindness." It has three kindred meanings: "first, the covenant-love of Jehovah to those who know and serve Him; next, the covenant-love of a servant of Jehovah to his God; and, lastly, the love of Jehovah's servants among themselves" (*i.e.* brotherly love). By calling himself God's "loving one" the psalmist implies an argument—virtually the same argument which I have put into words already. The fact that the God of love has entered into a covenant, both with Israel and with each Israelite, has made it possible for a child of man, weak and sinful as he is, to know the everlasting God. Now "God is not a God of the dead, but a God of the living." That being so, God's love to man and man's love to God form a bridge by which the human spirit can cross the river of Death unharmed. Not only the true Israel (that is, the Church), but the true Israelite (that is, the believing Churchman), is made—to use New Testament language—"partaker of the Divine nature."<sup>1</sup> "Because I live," says the Son of God, "ye shall live also."

Do you ask, further, as to the nature of this eternal life? Our Lord Himself tells us, "This is life eternal, that they might know thee the only true God, and Jesus Christ, whom thou hast sent."<sup>2</sup> The psalmist indeed could not have uttered the last part of this definition. His eyes were holden, so that he could not see the historical form of the fulfilment of prophecy. What he says, he says of himself;

<sup>1</sup> 2 Pet. i. 4.

<sup>2</sup> John xvii. 3.

God's "loving one" (or, "godly one") is, of course, the psalmist, as in Psalm iv. 3.<sup>1</sup> But of this he is well aware, that only those who know God spiritually can be in covenant with Him.

*"For with thee is the fountain of life :*

*In thy light can we see light.*

*O continue thy lovingkindness unto them that know thee,*

*And thy righteousness to the upright in heart."*<sup>2</sup>

Now it is in the nature of knowledge to grow. The bonds of sense prevent the knowledge of God from expanding to the uttermost; therefore even God's "loving one" must die. Calmly does the psalmist look forward to his dissolution; for to die is to depart and be in the fullest sense with God. Some students have been uncertain whether he expects to pass through an intermediate state, or anticipates an immediate admission to the Divine presence after death. The story of Enoch and Elijah would suggest the latter view to him; the later prophecies, especially that in Daniel xii., the former. The question is, Did the authors of Psalms xvi. and xvii. know those prophecies as well as those striking narratives? For my own part, I cannot doubt that they did; for at the end of Psalm xvii. I read these remarkable words,—

*"Let me be satisfied, when I awake, with thine image!"*

Does not this at once remind us of Isaiah xxvi. 19,<sup>3</sup> "Awake and sing, ye that dwell in dust," and of Daniel xii. 2, "Many of those that sleep in the dust of the earth shall awake"? Now, if we hold that these psalms belong to the post-Exile period, how can we be surprised to find in one of them an allusion to the resurrection? And since they are twin-psalms, the Christian instinct must be right

<sup>1</sup> Where A.V. and R.V. both render "him that is godly."

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxvi. 9, 10.

<sup>3</sup> See Mr. G. A. Smith's striking treatment of this passage, and of the prophetic intuition of immortality, in the *Expositor's Bible*.



in interpreting them both as referring to the same great belief. An intermediate state must therefore also be presupposed—not a joyless Hades, in which the voice of prayer and praise is hushed, but a true though faint copy of the mansion prepared in heaven. Our Lord, who nourished His own spiritual life upon the psalms, beautifully expresses the psalmists' meaning, when He says in the parable that "the beggar was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom."

That the psalmists' expressions are vague, I know. They had a firm but not a very definite faith in a future life. We cannot wonder that many of the Jews hesitated to admit such sweet and comforting ideas. The Sadducees, as the Gospels tell us, expressly denied the doctrine of the resurrection, and were rebuked by our Lord for their want of insight. They were the agnostics of their time; at least, they wished to minimize the element of mystery in revealed religion. It was Jesus, the "Author and Perfecter of our faith," who saved His Church from the variations and vacillations of Judaism by the great fact of the resurrection. Say what you will of the difference between prediction and poetry; it remains true that the noblest passages of the psalms belong to Jesus Christ in a higher sense than to any Jewish or Christian saint, simply because He and He alone is the perfect Israelite, the fulfilment of the ideals of the elder, and the pattern for the imitation of the younger Church. Sweet it is to find something in which we can agree with the most uncritical interpreters, *viz.* the view that the best parts of the psalms are true anticipations of Christ, "that in all things," as St. Paul says, "he may have the pre-eminence."

The fewest words are the best in summing up a psalm like this. I would only ask, Have we in some measure caught that faith and hope which glowed so brightly in the psalmist? Unless we can conscientiously apply vers. 9-11 in some

degree to ourselves, there is no inward compulsion upon us to apply it in a secondary and mystic sense to Christ. It would be something no doubt merely to have discovered an improved form of the argument for Christianity from the Christian elements in the Old Testament. But the 16th Psalm ought to enable us to do more than this. The holy psalmist talked with God. Can we in like manner talk with God, and with the Saviour who died to bring us near to God? Noble as the prayers of the Psalter are, we ought not to rest in them, but to follow in the path which the psalmists trod. "Let me hear what the Lord God will say *concerning me*," says the Prayer-Book Version of Psalm lxxxv. 8.<sup>1</sup> "Speak Thou to me, O Lord, not Moses, nor the prophets," says the devout author of the *Imitation*. The habit of spiritual converse with God gives us an insight into His purposes, and enables us who are united to Christ by faith to apply to ourselves St. Peter's comment upon ver. 9: "Whom God raised up, having loosed the pangs of death: because it was not possible that he should be holden of it."<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> The Septuagint inserts the words *ἐν ἐμοί*.

<sup>2</sup> Acts ii. 24.

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EXEGETICAL NOTES ON THE EPISTLE OF  
ST. JAMES.

ST. JAMES ii. 1. *μὴ ἐν προσωπολημψίαις ἔχετε τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης.* This is translated in R.V., "Hold not the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, *the* Lord of glory, with respect of persons"; but the margin follows Westcott and Hort in making it a question, "Do ye, in accepting persons, hold the faith?" etc. The interrogative rendering is also preferred by Stier, Schneckenburger, Kern, Gebser, Pott, and other commentators. I think it is simpler and more natural to take ἔχετε as imperative, especially as it is the commencement of a new section of the epistle, and it is the manner of the writer to begin by putting each topic forward clearly and explicitly, and afterwards to enforce and illustrate it in a variety of forms. It certainly cannot be said that, taken interrogatively, the sentence gives a clear, unmistakable meaning. At first sight it would seem to suggest that those addressed are not guilty of respect of persons. And the following γάρ, which, if we take ἔχετε as imperative, gives a reason for the warning against respect of persons, because it is shown by an example to involve worldly-mindedness and unrighteous judgment, is hard to explain if we take ἔχετε as a question.

The chief difficulty however of the verse lies in the construction of the genitive τῆς δόξης, which has been variously interpreted as having an objective, a subjective, or a qualitative force, and been connected in turn by different commentators with every substantive in the sentence: with *προσωπολημψίαις* (1) by Erasmus, Calvin, Heisen, Michaelis; with *πίστιν* (2) by the Peshitto, Grotius, Cornelius à Lapide, Hammond, and Hofmann; with the whole or a portion of the phrase *τοῦ Κυρίου . . . Χριστοῦ* (3) by the majority of commentators.

1. Erasmus translates, "Cum partium studio quo ex

sua quisque opinione quemlibet æstimat"; Calvin, "Ne in acceptionibus personarum fidem habeatis . . . ex opinione," which he explains, "Nam dum opum vel honorum opinio nostros oculos perstringit, veritas supprimitur." Both interpretations would make δόξης a subjective genitive, denoting the cause or source of *προσωποληψία*. Michaelis, on the other hand, gives it an objective force, translating, "Admiratio hominum secundum externum splendorem"; and much in the same way, Heisen. It is now generally recognised that the order of the words renders this explanation of the construction impossible.

2. The Peshitto, followed by Grotius, Hammond, Hofmann, etc., translates "faith of (in) the glory of Christ" (objective genitive). Huther, "Christ-given faith in the glory to be revealed"; Getcker, followed by Hottoman, "the glorious faith in Christ" (qualitative genitive). Though the interval between the two words πίστιν and δόξης in my opinion entirely precludes any qualitative connexion, it is perhaps not so decisive against Grotius' interpretation. To a certain extent we may find a parallel in i. 2: τὸ δοκίμιον ὑμῶν τῆς πίστεως, "the proof of your faith," is not unlike τὴν πίστιν . . . Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ τῆς δόξης, "the faith in Christ's glory"; but of course the harshness becomes greater with every additional word which separates them, and with the greater importance of those words.

3. It remains to consider the interpretations which make τῆς δόξης depend upon the whole, or a part of, the phrase preceding. These may be classified as follows: (a) δόξης depending on Χριστοῦ only; (b) depending on Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; (c) on τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν; (d) on τοῦ Κυρίου understood; (e) on the whole phrase τ. Κ. ἡ. Ι. Χ.

(a) "The Messiah of glory": so Laurentius, Schulthess, Lange, Bouman. The objection to this is, that it is impossible thus to separate Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, and that in any case it would require the article before Χριστοῦ.



(b) So Ewald: "Den Glauben unsers Herrn, Jesus Christus der Herrlichkeit." This seems to make an arbitrary division of the words, and is also liable to the same objections as (e). Moreover, do we ever find a proper name used with the genitive of quality?

(c) "Our Lord of glory, Jesus Christ." So Schneckenburger, De Wette, Wiesinger. If this were the writer's meaning, why did he not place the words *τῆς δόξης* after *ἡμῶν*?

(d) "Our Lord Jesus Christ (the Lord) of glory." So Baumgarten, Senler, and others; but it is without parallel, and is not supported by any of the later commentators.

(e) "Of our glorious Lord Jesus Christ." So Kern, Alford, Beyschlag, Erdmann, Schegg, and the great majority of modern commentators. We may allow that St. James makes frequent use of the genitive of quality, as in i. 25: *ἀκροατῆς ἐπιλησμονῆς*; ii. 4, *κριταὶ διαλογισμῶν πονηρῶν*, etc.: but it is very improbable that such a genitive would be appended to a phrase which is already complete in itself; and we may safely say, that no one would have thought of such a construction for this passage, if the other suggested interpretations had not involved equal or even greater harshness.

There is however a perfectly natural and easy construction, suggested by Bengel, which has been set aside by later commentators on what seem to me very inadequate grounds. His note is: "*τῆς δόξης*; est appositio, ut ipse Christus dicatur *ἡ δόξα* . . . Christus gloria; hinc fideles gloriosi. Hanc fidelium gloriam nullus mundi honos æquat, nemo personarum acceptor agnoscit." The objection made to it is, that the abstract term *δόξα*, by itself, is too indefinite to bear this weight of meaning. But other abstractions are used of Christ. He calls Himself the Truth, the Life; He is called the Word, why not the Glory? If we had before us such a sentence as *μὴ ἔχετε ἐν ἀφροσύνῃ τὴν πίστιν τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ*,

τοῦ λόγου, we should have no scruple in translating it, "Do not hold in folly the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the Word," any more than we have in translating 1 Timothy i. 1, κατ' ἐπιταγὴν Κυρίου Χριστοῦ Ἰησοῦ τῆς ἐλπίδος ἡμῶν, "According to the command of Christ Jesus, who is our hope." Why should we object to the similar translation here, "the faith of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the glory"? The only question is, whether the abstract δόξα is thus used of a person. Bengel cited Luke ii. 32, τὸ σωτήριον, ὃ ἡτοίμασας . . . δόξαν λαοῦ σου Ἰσραὴλ; Ephesians i. 17, ὁ Θεὸς τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ, ὁ Πατὴρ τῆς δόξης; 1 Peter iv. 14, εἰ ὀνειδίξεσθε ἐν ὀνόματι Χριστοῦ, μακάριοι, ὅτι τὸ τῆς δόξης καὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Πνεῦμα ἐφ' ὑμᾶς ἀναπαύεται (where he takes δόξης as an appellation of Christ). Perhaps more striking parallels are 2 Peter i. 17, φωνῆς ἐνεχθείσης τοιαύσδε ὑπὸ τῆς μεγαλοπρεποῦς δόξης ("The words seem a periphrasis for God Himself," *Alford*); Colossians i. 27, τί τὸ πλοῦτος τῆς δόξης τοῦ μυστηρίου τούτου, ὃ ἐστὶν Χριστὸς ἐν ἡμῖν, ἡ ἐλπίς τῆς δόξης; Romans ix. 4, where it stands for the Shechinah; John xvii. 22, ἐγὼ τὴν δόξαν ἣν δέδωκάς μοι δέδωκα αὐτοῖς; *ibid.* i. 14, ἐθεασάμεθα τὴν δόξαν αὐτοῦ, δόξαν ὡς μονογενοῦς παρὰ Πατρός, of which Westcott says, p. xlvii, "Christ the Light of the world is seen by the believer to be the manifested glory of God." Similarly μεγαλωσύνη is used Hebrews i. 3, and δύναμις, Matthew xxvi. 64. We may suppose that the reason why the word δόξα stands here alone, without ἡμῶν or τοῦ Πατρός, is in order that it may be understood in its fullest and widest sense of Him who alone comprises all glory in Himself.

According to the view which I have taken of the verse which has just been discussed, we must no longer cite δόξης as an instance of the genitive of quality. There are however two other verses in which I am inclined to give this force to genitives, which have been differently understood

by the commentators. These are i. 17, *παρ ᾧ οὐκ ἐνὶ παραλλαγῇ ἢ τροπῆς ἀποσκίασμα*; and iii. 6, *καὶ ἡ γλῶσσα πῦρ, ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας ἡ γλῶσσα καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν ἡμῶν*. The former is thus given in R.V., "With whom can be no variation, neither shadow that is cast by turning," making *τροπῆς* a subjective genitive. The old way of taking it, which we find in the Greek commentators and lexicographers, was to give to *ἀποσκίασμα* the meaning of "trace," "hint of," "approach to," implied by the A.V. "shadow of turning," old Latin *modicum obumbrationis*. The simple noun *σκιά* is often used in this way, as in Dem. *Mid.*, p. 552: *ἀρ' ἂν, εἴγ' εἶχε στιγμήν ἢ σκιὰν τούτων ὧν κατεσκεύαζε κατ' ἐμοῦ, ταῦτ' ἂν εἶασεν*; and in Philo, *Mut. Nom.*, p. i., 606 M.: *πεπιστευκῶς ἔχνος ἢ σκιὰν ἢ ὥραν ἀπιστίας δέχεται τὸ παράπαν*; but it is impossible that the extremely rare compound *ἀποσκίασμα* could have acquired any such colloquial force. It was however so understood by Wolf, Morus, Rosenmüller, Hensler, and even by Ewald. Grotius supposed the words *παραλλαγή* and *τροπῆς* to be used in a technical astronomical sense; but Gebser showed that *παραλλαγή* never had any other than the general sense "variation," even in the writings of the astronomers, and the special meaning of *τροπή* in reference to the sun's solstices is evidently inapplicable. The majority of commentators understand it of the apparent revolution of the sun, and give to the genitive a subjective force, "a shadow caused by the movement of the sun, or other heavenly body." So Gebser, "Der aus der Sonnenwende entstehende schattung"; Beyschlag, "Das Beschattetwerden des Gestirns das durch die wechselnde stellung derselben bewirkt wird"; Erdmann, "Er redet nach der beim Anblick der Gestirne sich aufdrängenden Wahrnehmung der Veränderung, die sich in ihrer Bewegung zeigt, und der Beschattung derselben wie sie erfahrungsmässig durch den Wechsel in ihrer Stellung verursacht wird." The actual

phenomena referred to will then be the alteration of position and the varying colour or brightness of the sun, moon, etc., and the overshadowing of a portion or of the whole of their disk, as in an eclipse. But what a very singular way of describing the latter to say that it is an overshadowing which comes from turning or change of position! "Overshadowing of one another," ἀλλήλων ἀποσκίασμα, would be what we should have expected. Accordingly De Wette (Brückner) and Schneckenburger have rightly felt that τροπή must be taken here in another and far more usual sense, that of "change" in general, since, as the former says, "schwierig ist damit (i.e. with the idea of revolution) ἀποσκίασμα in Verbindung zu bringen." Schneckenburger refers to Philo's frequent use of τροπή in order to contrast the mutability of nature with the immutability of God, as in *Alleg.* ii. 9, p. 72 M, πᾶν τὸ γεννητὸν ἀναγκαῖον τρέπεσθαι ἴδιον γὰρ ἐστὶ τοῦτο αὐτοῦ, ὥσπερ θεοῦ τὸ ἄτρεπτον εἶναι; and just above, ἀντιφιλονεικεῖ μοι ἡ τροπή, καὶ πολλάκις βουλόμενος καθῆκόν τι νοῆσαι ἐπαντλοῦμαι ταῖς παρὰ τὸ καθῆκον ἐπιρροίαις; and translates, *obumbratio quæ oritur ex inconstantia naturæ*. I should prefer to interpret as Stolz does after Luther, "Keine abwechselnde Verdunkelung." Beyschlag thinks this would require τροπή ἀποσκιάσματος; but why may not "overshadowing of change" serve to express "changing shadow," just as well as "a hearer of forgetfulness" to express "a forgetful hearer"?

I proceed to iii. 6, which is thus translated in the text of the R.V.: "And the tongue is a fire: the world of iniquity among our members is the tongue, which defileth the whole body," etc. In the margin we have two other interpretations: (1) "The tongue is a fire, that world of iniquity: the tongue is among our members that which," etc.; (2) "The tongue is a fire: that world of iniquity, the tongue, is among our members," etc.



I do not propose to consider any other difficulties of this passage except those connected with the words *ὁ κόσμος τῆς ἀδικίας ἢ γλῶσσα καθίσταται*, and I shall follow the punctuation in the text of the R.V. Isidore of Pelusium (fl. 400 A.D.), followed by the Greek commentators, mentions two meanings of the word *κόσμος*. (1) "ornament," *ἐγκαλλώπισμα δοκεῖ τῆς ἀδικίας*, because the tongue *κοσμεῖ τὴν ἀδικίαν διὰ τῆς τῶν ῥητόρων εὐγλώττου δεινότητος*: so Wetstein, Semler, Storr, Ewald, and others; (2) "the wicked world": at least this seems to be intended by the somewhat obscure expressions, *πῦρ ἐστὶ, πλήθος ἀδίκως κατακαίουσα*, and *κόσμος ἐστὶ τῆς ἀδικίας, οἷον ἐπὶ πρὸς τὸν συρφετῶδῃ ὄχλῳ καὶ δημῶδῃ ἐκφερομένη καὶ βλέπουσα*, with which apparently should be connected the sentence just below, *ταυτὴ γάρ ἀλλήλοις κοινωνοῦμεν τῶν ἑαυτῶν νοημάτων*. The majority however of modern commentators follow the Vulgate, "*universitas iniquitatis*" (3); thus explained by Bede, "*Quia cuncta fere facinora per eam aut concinnantur . . . aut patrantur . . . aut defenduntur*." So Erasmus, Calvin, Corn. à Lapide, Schneckenburger, Kern, De Wette, Wiesinger, Alford, Beyschlag, Erdmann. The objection to (3) is, that St. James elsewhere only uses the word *κόσμος* in a bad sense (i. 27, *ἄσπιλον ἑαυτὸν τηρεῖν τοῦ κόσμου*, ii. 5, iv. 4, *ἡ φιλία τοῦ κόσμου ἔχθρα τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐστίν*); that only one example in all Greek literature is adduced for the meaning "totality," viz. Proverbs xvii. 6, *τοῦ πιστοῦ ὅλος ὁ κόσμος τῶν χρημάτων, τοῦ δὲ ἀπίστου οὐδὲ ὀβολός*, if indeed this should not be rather understood more literally, of the inanimate world, as consisting of things which can be used and enjoyed. Lastly, the article seems scarcely consistent with this interpretation. "A world of cares" is a natural expression for many cares; but if we say "the world of care," we are understood to predicate something about the world itself. Schegg's interpretation, "the sphere or domain of iniquity," is, I think, an improvement on (3) as far as sense

goes, but it is not the natural meaning of *κόσμος*. The objections stated above are also applicable in part to (1). It is moreover a very harsh expression to call the tongue "the ornament of injustice" because it is capable of being used to give a colour to injustice; and it falls flatly after the stronger word "fire." Putting aside the commentators, if we read the words simply, we can hardly fail to be reminded of the similar expressions in Luke xvi. 8, 9, *τὸν οἰκονόμον τῆς ἀδικίας, τοῦ μαμωνᾶ τῆς ἀδικίας*, where *τῆς ἀδικίας* is qualitative, as is shown by the parallel expression in ver. 11, *τῷ ἀδίκῳ μαμωνᾷ*. The meaning of the phrase will then be, "in our microcosm the tongue represents or constitutes the world." In the same way it might be said, *ἡ ἐπιθυμία τῆς σαρκὸς ὁ γαστήρ καθίσταται ἐν τοῖς μέλεσιν*. The tongue represents the world, because it is that member by which we are brought into communication with other men; it is the organ of society, the chief channel of temptation from man to man. Here it is described as *ἡ σπύλουσα τὸ σῶμα*, but in i. 27 this is said to be the effect of the world; true religion is shown by keeping oneself *ἄσπιλον ἀπὸ τοῦ κόσμου*. Olshausen, Stier, and Lange give this meaning to the passage, and I think it is hinted at by the Greek commentators. One word on *καθίσταται*, which really means "is set," "is constituted."<sup>1</sup> It is opposed to *ὑπάρχω*, because it implies a sort of adaptation or development as contrasted with the natural or original state; to *γίνομαι*, because it implies something of fixity. So in iv. 4, *ὅς ἐάν βουληθῇ φίλος εἶναι τοῦ κόσμου, ἐχθρὸς τοῦ Θεοῦ καθίσταται*, "Whoever will be a friend of the world thereby becomes (is constituted) an enemy of God."

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<sup>1</sup> That it is passive and not middle may be inferred from the fact that out of the twenty-two instances in Bruder, while sixteen belong to the active voice and two are 1st aor. pass., there are only four examples of the ambiguous form *καθίσταται*, two of which are those cited above from this epistle, and the other two Heb. v. 1, viii. 3) are undoubtedly passive.

## ST. PAUL'S METHOD OF QUOTATION.

THERE is much in Mr. Bartlett's *Bampton Lectures* with which I entirely sympathise; it is therefore in no captious spirit that I venture to criticise his chapter on "Scripture Exegesis," in which he appears to me to do great injustice to St. Paul's method of quotation from the Old Testament.

The following extract is from Lecture III., p. 59.

"The New Testament writers, and in particular St. Paul, quote the words of the Old Testament in a sense quite independent of the original connexion, so that it has even been said of the quotations in St. Paul's epistles, that 'in no passage is there any certain evidence that the first connexion was present to the apostle's mind.'<sup>1</sup> For example, in 1 Corinthians xiv. St. Paul is speaking of the remarkable manifestation which had appeared in the Church of Corinth, the speaking with a tongue, by which persons under strong spiritual excitement uttered in the congregation sounds which, whether or not they were words of a foreign language, were at any rate unintelligible to the hearers; and he quotes and applies to this phenomenon the words of Isaiah, which in the Revised Version read, 'By men of strange lips [or, in the margin, 'with stammering lips'] and with another tongue will He speak to this people: to whom He said, This is the rest, give ye rest to him that is weary; and this is the refreshing: yet they would not hear.' It is incontestable that the prophet in this passage threatens the people that, as they despised and derided his teaching as being childishly simple — 'It is precept upon precept, precept upon precept; line upon line, line upon line; here a little, there a little,'—God will adopt a different method with them, and will speak to them in quite another language, bringing upon them the Assyrians, men of strange lips; and he adds that, though God had offered them rest and refreshing, yet they would not hear. This passage, of which the general meaning in the original is undoubted, St. Paul adapts to his own purpose, and applies to the Corinthians speaking with a tongue; and the concluding words, 'Yet they would not hear,' which in Isaiah refer to God's offer of rest, St. Paul, by omitting a clause, connects with the tongues. 'In the law it is written, By men of strange tongues and by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this people; and not even thus will they hear Me, saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to the unbelieving.' Here the connexion is evidently purely verbal: there is no kind of spiritual analogy between the threatened invasion

<sup>1</sup> Jowett, *Epistles to Thessalonians*, etc., i, p. 357.

of Judah by men of foreign tongue and the utterance in the Corinthian Church of speech unintelligible to the people. Are we to suppose that the prophet Isaiah, when threatening the Jewish people with punishment for the contempt of the Divine message, was supernaturally guided to use words which should be applicable in quite a different sense to a quite different set of circumstances? Surely not. But then the only alternative to this hypothesis is, that St. Paul made what we may call a purely literary use of the Old Testament, not scrupling to avail himself of it without any reference to its original meaning."

I shall show, on the contrary, that St. Paul had a particular section of Isaiah (against the scorers) in his mind, and that his quotations depend, not merely upon the words quoted, but upon the whole context.

To understand the argument of Isaiah, we must go back to chapter xxviii., with which this section against the scorers commences. The thought is as follows :

God Himself has laid in Zion "for a foundation a stone, a precious corner stone of sure foundation" (xxviii. 16); "he that believeth will not make haste," "he that reposeth (on this foundation) will not slip."<sup>1</sup>

This God-laid Foundation is the ideal Zion regarded as a Temple (Ariel) in which God dwells (chap. xxix. 1 ff), against which therefore it is vain to fight (cf. chap. xxx. 27-33). All who dwell in this Temple-City are not only safe, but "forgiven their iniquity" (xxxiii. 24); for the City is an Altar (Ariel).

But dwelling in an Altar-City means "everlasting burnings" to the impure. "Who among us shall dwell with everlasting burnings?" (xxxiii. 14.) Then, in language almost identical with Psalm xv., the prophet answers his own question :

"He that walketh righteously, and speaketh uprightly ;  
He that despiseth the gain of oppressions," etc.

(xxxiii. 15 ff.)

Such will "see the King in His beauty." In sharp con-

<sup>1</sup> The words in the original are intended to bear both significations.



trast with these the prophet places the "scorners"; *i.e.* those who repose on earthly wisdom and on earthly strength,<sup>1</sup> whose refuge is "a refuge of lies" (xxviii. 15). Such *cannot* see God. All His dealings are a "sealed book" to them (xxix. 1-12). Especially the "marvellous work" that He will work in Christ. If they fail to understand God's dealings *now*, so they will *then*.

"Forasmuch as this people draw nigh, and with their mouth and their lips do honour Me, but have removed their heart far from Me, and their fear of Me is a human tradition learned by rote: therefore, behold, I will again do a marvellous work among this people, even a marvellous work and a wonder: and the wisdom of their wise men shall perish, and the understanding of their prudent men shall be hid" (xxix. 13, 14).

*St. Paul quotes these words in such a way as to show that the whole argument of Isaiah was present to his mind.*

"For the word of the cross is to them that are perishing foolishness; but unto us which are being saved it is the power of God. For it is written,

I will destroy the wisdom of the wise,  
And the prudence of the prudent will I reject."

(1 Cor. i. 18, 19, R.V.)

So completely is this section of Isaiah in the apostle's mind, that he keeps referring to it almost unconsciously in the two following chapters; thus:

1 Corinthians.	Isaiah.
i. 20. "Where is the wise? <sup>2</sup> Where is the scribe?"	xxxiii. 18. Where is the scribe? etc.
i. 21. "The foolishness of the preaching . . ."	xxviii. 13. "Precept upon precept, precept upon precept," etc.; or "Manda re- manda," etc. (Jerome).

<sup>1</sup> In this particular case an Egyptian alliance (see chaps. xxx. 1-5 and xxxi. 1 ff.).

<sup>2</sup> This quotation will be considered presently.

1 Corinthians.	Isaiah.
ii. 14. "The natural man receiveth not: . . . neither can he know them."	xxix. 11, 12. The sealed book.
iii. 11. "Other foundation can no man lay than that which is laid . . ."	xxviii. 16. "Behold it is I that have laid in Zion a stone, . . . a sure foundation."
iii. 12. The wood, hay, and stubble tested by a deluge of fire.	xxviii. 17. The "refuge of lies" swept away by the deluge of hail and waters.

We will now consider St. Paul's quotation of Isaiah xxxiii. 18.

1 Corinthians i. 20.	Isaiah xxxiii. 18.
ποῦ σοφός; ποῦ γραμματεὺς; ποῦ συνζητητῆς τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου; R. V.: "Where is the wise? Where is the scribe? Where is the disputer of this world?"	אֵיךְ סֵפֶר אֵיךְ שָׁקֵל אֵיךְ סֵפֶר אֶת־חֲמֹדֵי לֵד R.V.: "Where is he that coun- ted, where is he that weighed <i>the</i> <i>tribute</i> ? where is he that counted the towers?"

If the Revised Version be a correct translation of Isaiah, St. Paul's quotation is certainly very wide of the mark. But there is another alternative.

The Septuagint read:

ποῦ εἰσὶν οἱ γραμματικοί;  
ποῦ εἰσὶν οἱ συμβουλευόντες;  
ποῦ ἔστιν ὁ ἀριθμῶν τοὺς τρεφομένους . . . ;

Vulgate:

Ubi est litteratus? ubi legis verba ponderans?  
ubi doctor parvulorum.

Aquila reads the last words thus:

ὁ ψηφίζων τοὺς μεγαλυνομένους.

The Targum translates:

"Where are the scribes? Where are the great men?"

Where are the men of estimation? Let them come if they shall be able to estimate," etc.

All the ancient versions seem to have read, not מִגְדָּלִים  
"towers," but מִגְדָּלִים "grown up" (cf. Ps. cxliv. 12).

If therefore we rely upon ancient authority, we should translate,—

"Where is the instructor? <sup>1</sup>

Where is the counsellor?

Where is the instructor of the full-grown?"

The words would then answer to the words of the scoffers in chap. xxviii. 9 :

"Whom would He teach knowledge?

Whom would He make to understand His 'tidings'?

Those that are weaned from milk, separated from the breasts?"

This scoff is directed not against Isaiah, but against God. The scoffers mock at such piecemeal revelation, "precept upon precept, precept upon precept; rule upon rule, rule upon rule"; here a little, there a little" (ver. 10). Such teaching is only fit for babes. "Let Him hasten His work, that we may see it" (v. 19). They refuse "the waters of Shiloah that go softly" (viii. 6), therefore God will bring upon them the torrent; they refuse the gentle, restful speech of God, therefore God Himself will be to them a mocker. "Surely by men of strange lips and with another tongue will He

<sup>1</sup> The Talmudic use of the word סֹפֵר is thus explained by Buxtorf: "*Deinde apud eosdem סֹפֵר Scriba, sapissimè idem est quod מְלִמֵּד תִּינוּקוֹת Præceptor puerorum, qui docet eos legere et scribere.*"

The "babes" are of course opposed to the "full-grown." We observe therefore a gradation thus:

"Where is the teacher (of babes)?

Where is the counsellor?

Where is the teacher of the full-grown?"

There is a similar threefold arrangement in T.B. *Avodah Zarah* 5<sup>a</sup>, where we read that God showed to the first Adam "each generation and its expositors, each generation and its wise men, each generation and its pastors." Cf. also Bereshith Rabbah 24 quoted by Lightfoot on 1 Cor. i. 20. St. Paul would almost seem to have had a Targum in his mind when, in ver. 26, he abruptly states, "Not many wise after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble." If so, we obtain another proof that the whole context and argument of Isaiah was present to the apostle's mind.

speak to this people: to whom He had said, This is the rest, give ye rest to the weary; and this is refreshing: yet they would not hear. So the word of the Lord becomes to them precept upon precept," etc. (xxviii. 11-13).

The "rest" here spoken of is the Divine method of revelation, *ΠΟΛΥΜΕΡΩΣ ΚΑΙ ΠΟΛΥΤΡΟΠΩΣ*, suited to faithful, childlike hearts.

With unbelievers God will try another way, yet from the nature of the case this way will be to them a snare.

St. Paul quotes these words (1 Cor. xiv. 20) to illustrate his argument that the faithful, childlike heart will hear the language of "prophecy," and not require the excitement of speaking with tongues.

"Brethren, be not children in mind: howbeit in malice be ye babes, but in mind be men. In the law it is written, By men of strange tongues and by the lips of strangers will I speak unto this people; and not even thus will they hear Me, saith the Lord. Wherefore tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to the unbelieving: but prophesying is not to the unbelieving, but to them that believe."<sup>1</sup>

Does not this quotation, which at first seems so far-fetched, prove that St. Paul was familiar, not merely with the language, but with the inner thought of Isaiah?

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<sup>1</sup> This quotation agrees with the version of Aquila.



## BREVIA.

"Introduction to Biblical Hebrew."<sup>1</sup>—The stimulus imparted to the study of Hebrew by the current Old Testament controversies is very remarkable. One sign of this widespread activity is the quantity of new grammars, especially elementary ones, that keep constantly appearing. In this department of the publishing trade the proverb is true that "it never rains but it pours." What is surprising and creditable is, that the majority of these grammars are useful, some of them to learners and all of them to teachers. Though destined for the pupils, we imagine that Mr. Kennedy's work will find its largest and most appreciative public among the instructors. Intended for beginners, the exposition does not follow a scientific arrangement, but deals with the subject in an order dictated by practical convenience. This is on the whole well managed, but there is a little unnecessary overlapping and excess of elaboration, particularly in the preliminary matter. On the other hand, the initial difficulties of learners are better apprehended and met than in most elementary text-books. We instance the careful description of the powers of the consonants, the method of transliteration (excepting the symbol selected for Aleph), the statement of the meaning of technical grammatical names, and especially the early series of introductory exercises, with full transliteration, interpretation, references, and notes. A feature of this book is the copious system of exercises attached to each section, consisting of Hebrew and English sentences illustrative of the principles in question. Whether it is wise to impose much translation from English into Hebrew in the early stages of training, and whether in the later pupils do not get sick of fragmentary sentences, are points worth the consideration of practical trainers and text-book makers. In any case Mr. Kennedy's labour of love in collecting together such comprehensive and convenient examples of every rule and idiom will be gratefully acknowledged by teachers, and by independent students—especially if he goes on to publish a key. As it is, his pertinent and frequent notes on the exercises already make these very useful to learners working without an instructor. Superiorities over exist-

<sup>1</sup> *Introduction to Biblical Hebrew.* By James Kennedy, B.D. (London: Williams & Norgate.)

ing books are the introduction of the main contents of practical syntax, the aid afforded to the mind through the eye by judicious spacing, the free employment of subordinate titles and of leaded type to mark the essential kernel of a paragraph, and generally the excellent and accurate printing, though sprung vowels and errata are by no means quite absent. Were this the place for discussion, we should take exception to Mr. Kennedy's use of the terms *Mutables* and *Aspirates*, his transliteration of the short vowels and *Hatephs*, his exposition of the *Construct*, and several points in his treatment of the verbs. In the Table of Vowel Signs the position of *Holem* is badly represented, and *Sheva* ought to have been printed in all three columns, while a very awkward misprint on p. 2 represents Hebrew as written from left to right. The book is manifestly the outcome of a long and loving industry, based on a scientific apprehension of the language, and shaped by actual experience in teaching. With its admirable simplicity of statement, and profusion of illustrative material, it may be consulted with advantage even by the experienced teacher

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## CONVERSION OF ST. PAUL.

NEXT to the resurrection of Christ, the most momentous event in the history of Christianity is the conversion of Paul. The resurrection gave back to humanity the Founder of the Christian religion, or, to speak more correctly, Him who was Himself that religion; the conversion gave to humanity the greatest apostle of that religion. The resurrection was the foundation of the Christian Church—at least, in the opinion of those who founded it; the conversion was its enlargement and universality. The conversion of Paul might be termed one of the fulfilments of what the resurrection left incomplete—an *ἀνταναπλήρωσις τῶν ὑστερημάτων τῆς ἀναστάσεως*; from the resurrection it came, and to the power of the resurrection it gave wide and unrestricted scope. We might go on to other comparisons. Through the resurrection, the reappearance of the Lord to the first disciples—or through something,—came a sudden revulsion from despair to confidence and joy; through the appearance of the Lord to Paul, or through something, came a sudden revulsion from furious and relentless opposition to enthusiastic and tender-hearted devotion. In both cases the appearance of Jesus has been denied, and for the same reason; and, because of the preliminary objection to apparent interference with natural law, any solution within the bounds of sheer possibility has been preferred to the manifestation of the risen Jesus. Thanks to the advance of critical science, the alternative of fraud is no longer invoked; and thanks to the growth of the historic sense, we may, without fear of consequences, pass by the theory

that the story in the Acts is allegorical—a translation into the language of historical fact of the figurative expressions denoting the manifestation of Christ to the soul, and the consequent change from spiritual darkness to light. It would be a strange allegory indeed that fixed upon Damascus for the locality of the event, and brought in an Ananias, otherwise entirely unknown to fame. But almost any resource short of fraud and allegory is still summoned to the defence of the invariable course of material nature. It being once for all decided for us that there could have been no miraculous material phenomena—as “miracles do not happen,” and never did,—we are offered, as the residuum, either an unreal, ecstatic vision, the product of Paul’s excited imagination, or else a purely spiritual experience, a vision of the heart, of the spiritual eye, to which tradition has attached an actual experience of the senses. That is, either Paul believed that he really saw Christ, and did not, the subjective becoming objective to Paul; or else Paul knew that he did not see Christ, except spiritually, Christ shining in his heart, the Son being revealed in him, and this shining, this revelation, has been materialised by tradition. In this case, the subjective has become objective, or, more strictly speaking, the inward has become the outward, in tradition. These then are the alternatives: a real sight of Christ, Paul’s eyes being opened, as the New Testament accounts seem to say; or no sight of Christ at all, but solely an affair of the imagination; or (the middle alternative, coming by way of a refinement upon the idea of imagination and a transformation thereof into imaginative faith) a purely spiritual, but, as we are asked to believe, none the less real, nay, all the more real, sight of Christ—a sight by this so-called imaginative faith.

It will be well to take the evidence before the speculation. What, according to the record, so far as we can determine its meaning, was the something which suddenly turned



Paul from recalcitrant enmity to loyal and loving service? There are three descriptions of the event in the Acts: one by the historian, and two by Paul himself as reported by the historian. At one time Paul tells his story to the Jews at the foot of the Castle of Antonia, and at another time to King Agrippa in the court of Festus. The accounts do not entirely agree together. In the historian's account we are told that Paul's companions heard the voice or sound ( $\phi\acute{o}\nu\eta$ ); in Paul's address to the Jews we are told, "They heard not the voice of Him that spake to me." The historian says again that they "beheld no man"; Paul says that they beheld the light. According to the historian, the men stood speechless; according to Paul, they fell to the ground. Then the words of Jesus are not quite the same in all the accounts; and, finally, the message given by Ananias in chap. xxii., where Paul is addressing Jews, is put as the utterance of Jesus Himself in chap. xxvi., where Paul is addressing Agrippa. But otherwise the narratives are so closely alike that their differences cannot be accounted for, as Schleiermacher supposed, by attributing them to the diversity of sources from which the author drew his materials. Nor is it difficult to explain these differences or unreasonable to reconcile them. Mr. Matthew Arnold indeed talks very scornfully of this reconciliation. "Need we say," he remarks, "that the two statements (about the voice) have been reconciled? They have, over and over again; but by one of those processes which are the opprobrium of our Bible criticism, and by which anything can be made to mean anything. There is between the two statements a contradiction as clear as can be; and what the contradiction proves is the incurable looseness with which the circumstances of what is called and thought a miracle are related." But the author of *The Kernel and the Husk*, who strains at such miracles quite as vigorously as Mr. Arnold, is not so easily startled. It is his opinion,

that we "may put aside some slight discrepancies in the three accounts given in the Acts, discrepancies easily and naturally explicable, and valuable as showing that the accounts have not been arbitrarily harmonized."<sup>1</sup> "Slight discrepancies," that can be put aside as "easily and naturally explicable," are not "contradictions as clear as can be." *A priori* they hardly seem fatal to credibility. The unity of the authorship of the Acts is now an admitted fact in criticism, and we cannot believe that the same author, and an author of such literary skill, knowingly or heedlessly left fatal inconsistencies in this story. We may reasonably suppose that the historian's account (chap. ix.) is a strictly historical account so far as it goes, and that the author reports Paul's versions in the other passages without having any idea of radical opposition. The differences must have seemed to him altogether insignificant as his memory dwelt upon the one chief fact. If he saw no real contradiction, why should not we put ourselves with him into the background of his narrative, and supply the explanations which were dormant in his consciousness, unawakened by subsequent criticism? Is it an opprobrium to our Bible criticism to suppose that the companions heard a voice or a sound like a voice, but heard nothing that they could understand? They heard and yet did not hear: the emphasis is—Paul alone truly heard. Or is it an opprobrium to suppose that the men may have stood speechless, and yet have fallen on the ground in awe and astonishment? The one action may have followed the other: the emphasis in the historian's mind was on their speechless astonishment. Or is it an opprobrium for us to believe that they could behold the light, and yet behold no man? or to believe that Paul was likely to retain the mention of Ananias, the devout Jew, when addressing an audience of Jews, and to omit it in the unsuitable presence of Agrippa and Festus,

<sup>1</sup> Pp. 229 f.

—considering that he was firmly convinced the commission given by Ananias came direct from Christ, and that this commission from Christ was the main issue he desired, in his concise summary, to lay before Agrippa? Looking into all the circumstances of each case, we are justified, we think, in saying, “Here is faithful reporting,” rather than in saying, “Here are contradictions as clear as can be.” We may epitomise as follows what may fairly be gathered from the three accounts. What Paul’s companions saw was a flash of light at mid-day; what they heard was an inarticulate sound; what they afterwards did was to take by the hand their blinded and awe-stricken leader, and guide him into Damascus. What Paul saw in the flash of light was Jesus of Nazareth as the Lord in glory; what he heard in the sound was the voice of Jesus saying who He was, rebuking Paul for his threatening and slaughter as the persecution of Himself, and sending him into Damascus to be told what he should do. According to this interpretation therefore the manifestation was both outward and inward, both objective and in one sense subjective. It was outward, it was objective to all in the flash and in the sound; it was inward also, and so far subjective, yet still objective in its inwardness, to Paul. To quote Dr. Abbott, “He actually saw a sight, and actually heard words which other people, his companions, with the same opportunities for seeing and hearing (*i.e.* sensuously) did not see and did not hear.”

Paul does not tell in his Epistles, in detail, the story of his conversion, partly because his letters were written for other purposes, partly because, even when the conversion is referred to, he is writing to converts who must have heard it from him before, by word of mouth. But what he does say about it is, so far as it goes, in harmony with the Acts. When he appeals to the Corinthians, “Am I not an apostle? Have I not seen Jesus our Lord?” he rests his

claim to the apostleship on a sight of the risen Lord; for he cannot mean to rest such a claim on the sight of the earthly Christ (supposing that he did see Him) in the days of his unconverted Pharisaism. Moreover we need not hesitate to conclude, from the statement of the Acts in the case of Matthias, that in this "sight of the Lord" is implied the power of witnessing to His resurrection. And in writing to the same Church, as he briefly summarises the gospel preached by him and by the other apostles, he, in so many words, affirms himself a witness of the resurrection; he declares that, just as the apostles before him had seen the risen Christ, so also in the same way had he seen Him, only later in time, and indeed in the last appearance of all. And, if we look closely into the passing reference found in the letter to the Galatians, we shall discover a similar harmony. There is a similar locality, Damascus; a similar concrete event (suggested by the phrase, "immediately,"—*i.e.* after some definite moment—"I conferred not [as to my gospel] with flesh and blood"); there is a similar "call by grace" to be a Christian, accompanied by a revelation of the Son in him; there is a similar call to the apostleship among the Gentiles, proceeding directly from Jesus Christ, and indirectly from God the Father, who raised Him from the dead, the last clause being pointless unless it implies that he was commissioned by the Christ so raised.

But, we are told, Paul believed indeed that he saw and heard, yet all the while did not see and did not hear. It was all an hallucination, the offspring of an excited imagination. Paul is fatigued with a long journey in the broiling sun; his nerves are unstrung with the prospect of soon playing the odious part of executioner, perhaps among the very people whose peaceful homes are just breaking upon his view; his eyes are inflamed with incipient ophthalmia; he passes too hastily from the sun-smitten plains



to the cool shades of the gardens round about Damascus ; a dangerous fever, accompanied by delirium, so common and so sudden in those latitudes, seizes him, and in a few minutes the victim is prostrate upon the ground. When the crisis is over, the sufferer, as is usual, retains only the impression of a period of profound darkness, crossed at intervals by dashes of light, in which he has seen outlined images against a dark background. How natural it all is ! M. Renan himself experienced a crisis of this kind at Byblos ; and "with other principles," he says, "I should certainly have taken the hallucinations that I had then for visions." Through lack of M. Renan's "principles," it appears, Paul became an apostle ; and but for his "principles" M. Renan might have become an apostle too. But what about the light and the sound ? Oh ! that might have been lightning and thunder, for the flanks of Mount Hermon are the point of formation for thunder showers unequalled in violence. Besides, there is this advantage in a thunderstorm : if the ophthalmia will not suffice, there was the lightning to blind him, and the Jews regarded lightning as the fire of God. If fever and delirium do not commend themselves, why then there was the thunder-clap to produce a "cerebral commotion," and the Jews regarded thunder as the voice of God. No wonder that Paul's recollections were rather confused : a cerebral commotion "is apt to produce a sort of retroactive effect, and completely perturb the memory of the moments immediately preceding the crisis." Moreover, what a suitable victim was Paul for hallucinations ! He tells us himself that he was subject to visions. "I come to visions," says he, "and revelations of the Lord" ; and a circumstance insignificant, as it might have been to others, was sufficient to make him beside himself. And then what a poor, weakly, diseased, nerve-shattered creature he was ! He preached in weakness, he boasted of infirmities, he had a thorn, a stake in the flesh,

possibly epilepsy; the marks of the Lord Jesus upon him were the marks of chronic disease: in a word, he was a man timid, sick, exhausted, half dead. Behold then all the physical and psychical conditions of hallucination, and all the exterior facts of time, place, and the elements, leading these conditions to a crisis; and the hallucination is ready made. He saw the countenance which had haunted him (though the balance of evidence goes to show that he had never seen it before, and did not know it now when he did see it) for all those days during which he had thought of Stephen's martyrdom and the patient sufferings of the harassed Nazarenes, and had wrestled with the doubts and compunctions that had thronged his soul as the journey dragged itself wearily along; he saw the phantom of which so much had been said, even Jesus Himself, who spoke to him in Hebrew, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?"<sup>1</sup> A plausible description indeed, for minds adapted to it, a prepared picture for a prepared people; but will it bear examination?

First of all, was Paul such a very weakly creature? I am sometimes drawn to think that the theory of Paul's exceeding nervousness is one of the questionable results of applying the magnifying glass to the modicum of information left us as to his life, circumstances, and physical and mental constitution. Far too much appears to have been made of what was admittedly a high-strung and sensitive nature, too much of the *ἀσθένεια* in which he sometimes preached; of the *σκόλοψ*, the messenger of Satan sent to buffet him; of the *στίγματα*, the marks of the Lord Jesus, which hardship had fastened upon him. We have no evidence that Paul was by habit sickly. He had illness at times, as we know; he cannot be said to have been a really strong man, or to have had the air of robustness about him, for we are told, on the word of his enemies, that his bodily presence

<sup>1</sup> See M. Renan's *Apostles*, chap. I.

was weak. But no habit of sickliness or of nervous disorder is consistent with his immense work.<sup>1</sup> He was not relieved of the duty of "buffeting his body and bringing it into bondage," though his hardships, one would think, might have saved him much trouble in this direction. The man that travelled and preached by day, even with illness upon him, and wrought by night to win bread for himself and others; who, in comparison with self-vaunting, pre-eminent apostles, was in labours more abundantly, in prisons more abundantly, in stripes above measure, in deaths oft; who had been five times scourged, thrice beaten with rods, once stoned and taken up as dead, thrice shipwrecked, passing a night and day in the deep; whose perils were multitudinous; who, besides his labour and travail, his watchings often, his hunger and thirst, his fastings often, his cold and nakedness, had, pressing him daily, the anxious care of all the Churches—what endurance must have been there! Brought in to explain away one miracle—the personal manifestation of the Lord—the theory of bodily weakness and shattered nerves looks as though it would introduce another, a miraculous sustaining power. A man, too, whose head was as strong as his heart, whose enthusiasm was tempered by practical wisdom, whose spirituality was wedded to a sanctified common sense—was he a man whose mental balance was for ever nigh to toppling over? We might almost as readily admit the weak nerves of the hale and hearty fishermen of Galilee, who had their visions and trances likewise.

Paul however, so we are reminded, was specially subject to visions. After his conversion he had "visions and revelations of the Lord": why should not the conversion manifestation have been one of the like kind? But Paul's

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Beyschlag, "Die Bekehrung des Apostels Paulus" (*Stud. und Kritik.*, 1864). To this paper, along with Sabatier's *L'Apôtre Paul*, I would here make a general acknowledgment.

treatment of these visions and of the revelations of Jesus at his conversion affords striking points of difference. In the first place, the genitive *Κυρίου*<sup>1</sup> in "visions and revelations of the Lord" is pretty obviously subjective, signifying visions and revelations granted by the Lord. So we judge from what follows. Paul never affirms that in any of these visions he saw the person of the Lord Christ. He knew not whether his spirit was in the body or out of the body, but he was caught up to heaven, and there heard unspeakable words, which it was not lawful for a man to utter. What he saw in the visions he does not say; but even if he saw the Lord, it could hardly have been after the same fashion as at his conversion, for the *ἔσχατον πάντων* of 1 Corinthians xv. (which is equivalent to "in the last of all the appearances He was seen of me also") is quite inconsistent with later parallels. The apostle, then, draws herein a distinct line between the manifestation accorded to him at his conversion, due to the personal intervention of the risen Lord, and the visions and revelations afterwards, as well as the spiritual ecstasies which were characteristic of the apostolic age and were ascribed to the action of the Holy Spirit. He draws further distinctions. He dates these visions fourteen years ago. It seems unnatural that Paul, in recounting the visions in question, should not begin with the vision that turned the whole course of his life, if it were a vision of the same kind. But any reasonable system of chronology places the conversion twenty or twenty-one years anterior to the writing of this Corinthian letter. Differences, however, more striking still, deliver us from the temptation to lay stress upon this chronology. It is plain from the context that he had never described these ecstatic visions in the course of his preaching. He regards them as spiritual gifts of which he might boast, but he is loath to do so. He is modest about this province of his

<sup>1</sup> 2 Cor. xii. 1.



spiritual life; and even now, when the depreciation of his adversaries suggests to him to make use of these spiritual gifts as an argument to show the Corinthians that here also he is at least the equal of the supereminent apostles, this holy modesty, this delicate repugnance to tearing asunder the veil of his inner life, stops the argument midway. From the first the argument has been adopted with reluctance: "I am become foolish: ye have compelled me. I must needs glory, though it is not expedient." "No" (he adds almost immediately); "I will not glory; though, if I did, I should speak the truth; but I forbear, lest any man should account of me above that which he seeth me to be, or heareth from me. I will glory only in the weaknesses which bring the strength of Christ to rest upon me." But about the appearance of Christ to him at his conversion he has no such modesty, he feels no such reserve. He speaks of it quite freely, if we may judge from two instances being recorded within the circumscribed and fragmentary narrative of the Acts. He regards it as an occasion of spiritual humiliation; whereas the subsequent visions were occasions of spiritual exaltation, and, according to his own account, had tended to excite spiritual vainglory. Again, in these visions he tells us he was rapt in ecstasy or trance up to the third heaven; whether his spirit was in the body or out of the body, he could not tell. At his conversion, on the other hand, he was perfectly self-conscious; there is no hint of ecstasy in any of the narratives: and it was Jesus that came to him; it was a visit from heaven to earth, instead of from earth to heaven. Paul did not confuse the two psychical conditions; this chapter (2 Cor. xii.) itself affords indubitable proof that he was quite alive to the distinction between a state of ordinary self-consciousness and a state of ecstasy in the region of the spirit and outside the region of sense; and when he says, in Acts xxvi. 19, "I was not disobedient to the heavenly vision," the word he

there uses, *ὄπτασία*, does not in the least necessitate the notion of unreality. Not that St. Paul occupied any exceptional position among the great actors of New Testament history, in the matter of discriminating between phantoms and realities. St. Peter, for example, was fully aware that there was such a thing as an ecstasy, for he describes his vision of the sheet let down from heaven by four corners as *ἐν ἐκστάσει ὄραμα*; nor did he swallow with open-mouthed credulity every wonderful experience as though it were necessarily a supernatural fact, for when he was released from prison by angelic interposition, "he wist not that it was true which was done by the angel, but thought he saw a vision" (*ὄραμα*). And if the Acts was written by Luke, and if Luke was a physician (a double tradition which has not yet been seriously shaken), then we have these accounts from the hand—I will not say, of a scientific man, but—of a man who was even more likely to be aware of the possibilities of the imagination than his unprofessional contemporaries Peter and Paul.

Finally, the hypothesis of hallucination or mere vision cannot weather the *a priori* consideration that such a vision must have been the product of faith, and not the cause. The visions, the ecstasies, he speaks of, came after he believed in Christ; the sight of Christ near Damascus led to his conversion, and therefore came before that faith. Joan of Arc saw saints in vision: yes, but she believed in them, she lived in them. Mr. Matthew Arnold's Sampson Staniforth had his vision, it is true: when sentinel at a most perilous post, after long hours of wrestling in prayer that God would forgive him, he saw Christ in heaven upon the cross, and heard the words, "Thy sins are forgiven thee." And so, concludes Mr. Arnold, "Sampson Staniforth had his vision, just as Paul had his." But Sampson Staniforth believed in Christ as the Saviour from sin; he was looking for some revelation; he craved for it, he

panted after it, and at last he seemed to see it from the very ardour of his desire. Who shall set Joan of Arc and Sampson Staniforth in the same category with the bigoted, unbending, unbelieving Saul of Tarsus, on his way to Damascus, breathing threatening and slaughter? An enthusiast already Christian might, in his intense longing for Christ, have created for himself such a vision; but it could hardly be that a stanch Pharisee, hating Christ and everything Christian, regarding with bitterness and dismay all that the faith in the Nazarene was doing to undermine his ancestral traditions and his patriotic hopes, resisting in God's name the spreading blasphemy even unto blood, could have evolved from his hostile consciousness what was foreign alike to his knowledge and to his imagination?

But we are asked to believe that before his conversion his hostility had ebbed away, and the tide of faith was rolling in. The theory that Paul was gradually converted is based upon the words, "It is hard for thee to kick against the goad." The basis is an uncertain one, as the proverb may imply nothing beyond the certainty that Paul's efforts to retard the advance of Christianity would only recoil upon himself. But the basis may be conceded for the sake of examining the superstructure, which, after all, may stand as a fact, even though this particular passage be forced beyond its true meaning. There was a goad in his soul, it is said, hard to kick against. His impressible nature had been touched by the joyful patience of the Nazarenes: could such faith, the faith of a Stephen, with heaven's light upon his face as he died, be a mere delusion, a godless deception? He had doubtless listened to the apologetic of Stephen in the synagogue "of them of Cilicia and Asia," perhaps he had even broken a lance with him; he had heard the acknowledged Pharisaic method of Messianic interpretation extended by the Nazarenes to such prophecies as that of the suffering

servant of Jehovah, and the stone which the builders refused; he had become familiar with the arguments which went to prove that a Messiah on the cross was not a disgraced criminal, but a Messiah bearing away the people's sins, that they might be righteous enough for deliverance from their oppressors—a Messiah who, to complete His work, must rise again and appear once more upon the earth; and he himself, as a true Pharisee, was looking for national righteousness before national restoration, and believed that the vicarious righteousness of the law-abiding was transferable to those who were deficient in their obedience to the law. Why should not the guiltless passion of the Messiah be the ordained means of this righteousness? And then, the burden that was weighing upon his own spirit; the fruitlessness of his desperate strivings after a righteousness without which the conscientiousness of a Paul could not be satisfied; the heart-breaking gulf, seeming to gape wider and wider the more he knew, the more he strove, between him and his soul's rest: might not the Messiah deliver him from this body of death? Might not that righteousness arrive as a gift which all his painfulness had failed to win as a reward? And might not Jesus be this Messiah, and have risen again, as His followers had said? The five days' journey to Damascus, with none but inferiors, officially and intellectually, to bear him company, afforded unwonted leisure for unwonted reflection. He had sought to crush his doubts as devil-born; the more persistently they rose upon him, the more he strove to hurl them from him, and prove and fortify his loyalty by faster and more furious persecution. Now however there was nothing for it but to think as he travelled on; and with thought returned the old uncertainty in gathered force. But Damascus was close at hand, and he must soon decide. To this side and to that was his racked soul driven. Suddenly all obstacles were swept away by an instantaneous



deluge of conviction that the persecuted Jesus was the Messiah; and then he thought that he beheld and heard Him. So the conversion was but a kind of growing faith come to maturity, and the vision was this faith in fruition.

Plausible to some extent, once more; but not historical. Here indeed the vision did not produce the belief, but the belief the vision: so far, it may be said, the natural order has been maintained; yet only just maintained, seeing that the mature belief and the vision were all but simultaneous. But this order is not Paul's, if we are to retain any of the evidence. Paul knows nothing of a gradual conversion, nor does the historian; the air of the narratives reverberates with the tones of suddenness and violence; it was a sudden conversion, it was a violent wrench from one side to the other. Christ appeared to him *ὡσπερ εἰ τῷ ἐκτρώματι*, "as though to the abortive birth"; or, as Grotius paraphrases, "he was not brought to Christianity by a long education, else would he have been as it were a natural birth, but by sudden force, as immature births are wont to be ejected." Before that hour Paul was, as it were, an embryo not ready for the birth; in that hour he was brought forth in abruptness and violence, all his imperfect life gone from him. Further, the persecuting fury, in the very midst of which Paul was overtaken, is not connected by him with any compunction or uncertainty; his remorse for it is bitter and frequent, but he had persecuted ignorantly, in unbelief, not in any serious doubt, for doubt rather paralyses than impels to more energetic action. He was an earnest, conscientious Pharisee, more abundantly zealous than others for the traditions of his fathers; his zeal in persecuting the Church he regarded as equal in merit with his blamelessness in keeping the righteousness that was in the law; he was as sure, broadly speaking, of his duty in the one respect as in the other, for Jesus was to him an impostor and the worship of Jesus a blasphemy.

Was a man in this mood,—a man on whom not the tolerance even of Gamaliel had left a single discoverable trace, a man whose madness, having driven men and women from Jerusalem, was now pursuing them even to Damascus,—was such a man, at such a time, likely to get so near Christ in spirit as to be prepared in the course of a few days' march for creating a vision of Him as the exalted Messiah? Not a fragment of history can be produced to vouch for a change in Paul before the vision; and without a radical change a vision was not possible. Even if we admit that compunctions were at work in his heart, compunctions and doubts are not enough to produce such an hallucination,—a vision of Jesus taking the persecution to Himself, and sending the persecutor to preach, not to the Jews, but to the Gentiles. And if Paul was not changed before the vision, can we think that a man in his mood would have been transformed root and branch by anything he could by any means have attributed to his disordered fancy; or that, after such a vision, with all its uncertainty, he would have been suddenly revolutionised from a stubborn, conscientious, heresy-hunting Pharisee to a preacher of that faith which once he destroyed?

It is not surprising that the hallucination theory, which on historical investigation is found to raise difficulties greater than it dispels, should have experienced modifications at the hands of earnest inquirers. These are the holders of the third or middle theory. Dr. Abbott, for instance, the author of *The Kernel and the Husk*, is satisfied that the vision was a real one, real but not material, and all the more real because solely in the spiritual sphere; and he is further satisfied that this was the view of Paul himself. He fights to the death the notion of any bodily appearance, whether the body be spiritual or otherwise. At the same time he indignantly scouts the proposition that a mere vision could lay the foundation of the vast moral effects

that ensued, or that the gospel of Paul could spring from a deception of the imagination. His view of the absolute spirituality and reality of the vision is in accordance with his admission of what, for want of a better term, we call the supernatural into the purely spiritual world. But he has his own way of putting this solution, if it may be so termed. Relying upon the narrative, in some degree, he declares that, because the vision was not visible to Paul's companions, it must have been "subjective in a sense"; in what sense it was not, he does not carefully define. Having prepared Paul's mind after much the same fashion as the holders of the hallucination theory, he proceeds: "Such was the struggle through which Paul's mind was passing when the Spirit of Jesus, acting indirectly through the constancy and faith of His persecuted disciples, having first insensibly permeated and undermined the barriers of Phari-saïc training and education, now swept all obstacles before it in an instantaneous deluge of conviction that this persecuted Jesus was the Messiah. At the same moment the Messiah Himself (who during these last months and weeks of spiritual conflict had been bending down closer and closer to the predestined apostle from His throne in heaven) now burst upon the convert's sight on earth" (p. 244). And elsewhere he says: "I myself firmly believe that there was a spiritual act of Jesus simultaneous with the conveyance of the manifestation to the brain of the apostle" (p. 230).

I confess that there is something here far too subtle for plain men of ordinary comprehension; but with some effort we may be able to grasp what it involves. I have already endeavoured, in treating of the theory of mere vision, to deal with the historical incongruities which lie at the root of this theory; for the two theories are near relatives, and some difficulties are therefore common to both. But this middle theory has difficulties of its own. It is a mass of

what, for want of a better term, we call miracles. There is, first, the direct spiritual interposition of Jesus, as a climax to the indirect effect of His Spirit through the constancy and faith of His persecuted disciples; that is, there is an extraordinary spiritual act, or, in other words, what is to us a spiritual miracle. That is not subjective, but objective, and is miracle number one. Then there is the "conveyance of the manifestation to the brain of the apostle, the Messiah Himself bursting upon the convert's sight on earth." Now it is plain that there is something here, not spiritual or subjective, but physical, and again objective. The conveyance of a real manifestation to the brain is at any rate not purely spiritual, but involves the physical: the manifestation so conveyed is essentially objective; the vision, we must not forget, is "real." There is, by a special act, an enabling the brain to see a real thing without the intervention of the eyes; it is therefore, in the common acceptation of the term, miraculous. This is in the physical sphere, and is miracle number two. But these are not the only miracles. Dr. Abbott does not absolutely say that the spiritual act produced the physical manifestation; he says the two were simultaneous: but it really looks as if the Spirit of Christ was intended to cause the conveyance to the brain. If so, that would be a heterogeneity, and another miracle. If the spiritual act however had nothing to do with the physical manifestation, but the two were simply simultaneous, then the two independent events were so timed as to fall exactly together, without any interdependence whatever: and this would have been, not an accident—for there are no accidents in this theory—but another extraordinary interposition, that is, another miracle. Yet, after all, this theory of real vision may be so presented as to leave little room for quarrelling with it. If an actual manifestation of Jesus of Nazareth was conveyed to the brain of St. Paul—in other words, if his eyes were open to



see Christ (the Messiah Himself, so it is put, bursting upon the apostle's sight on earth), then we have only one condition to impose; namely, that the manifestation should be of such a nature as to be a proof to Paul, not merely of the continued existence of Christ after death, but of His resurrection and exaltation to glory. For with this proviso there is objectivity enough in the "real vision" theory to account for Paul seeing a sight which he was not yet in a condition to conjure up for himself, by imaginative faith, or by any other faculty whatever which the unbelieving and persecuting Pharisee had then at his command. Without some such objectivity, it is incredible that Paul, as he then was, could have been so certain of seeing Christ as to accept at once the revelation and the commission, and preach them without faltering to his dying day; to make the resurrection the basis of his gospel, and to affirm without the faintest sign of doubt, "If Christ hath not been raised, then is our preaching vain, your faith also is vain: . . . ye are yet in your sins."

To touch upon another point which has some bearing upon Paul's own view of what he saw. Where did Paul obtain his idea of a spiritual body? Perhaps he may expose himself to Dr. Abbott's satire on spiritual hands and spiritual bipeds; but, to a candid student, Paul's phraseology suggests that he believed in some spiritual-material form—if a term be allowed which is to us a paradox—in which believers shall hereafter bear a likeness to the risen Christ. It is difficult otherwise to interpret such passages as these: "For our citizenship is in heaven; from whence also we wait for a Saviour, the Lord Jesus Christ: who shall fashion anew the body of our humiliation, that it may be conformed to the body of His glory, according to the working whereby He is able to subject all things unto Himself"; and another: "If there is a natural body, there is also a spiritual body. . . . The first man is of the earth,

earthly: the second man is of heaven. As is the earthly, such are they also that are earthly: and as is the heavenly, such are they also that are heavenly. And as we have borne the image of the earthly, we shall also bear the image of the heavenly." I am not just now defending Paul's deduction: all that I desire to contend for is, that we may fairly connect Paul's doctrine, so uncompromisingly asserted by him, with the appearance of the risen Lord. If the contention be correct, we have another argument for Paul's uncompromising belief in the real and personal presence of the Lord in the way.

But it is objected, that the theory of sudden conversion renders the revelation to Paul psychologically inexplicable, and represents his change of heart as the result of an external act of magical force. We do not profess to have a complete explanation of the psychological difficulties; any more than we can profess to be satisfied with the explanations confidently offered by those who set the history and evidence aside. And yet we are not driven to admit that Paul's conversion was a magical transformation. "No revelation of Christ," says Neander, "could have changed a Caiaphas into a preacher of the gospel." Paul was no Caiaphas; he was no worldling time-server, able to find an excuse for ignoring even a sign from heaven, if it impelled him to inconvenient duty. There were therefore sympathetic points of contact in Paul's soul for Christ to touch when He wished to reveal Himself: an earnestness of will, a determination to accept truth when found, an energy of action for the truth's sake, and, all the while, a consciousness of inward moral weakness in the midst of his Pharisaic pride in outward performance.

Lastly, while it seems an unhistorical exaggeration to speak of the "struggles" of Paul's conscience in the midst of his persecution, it would be unreasonable to exclude the possibility of thoughts and questionings now and then

starting up in his mind. All that was needed was, that the blindness should be swept away. For this purpose Christ by the flash and the voice brought the outward sense to the help and assurance of the inward. Then the appearance of Christ in person—the appearance of one Paul knew to be dead—brought back upon him his thoughts and questionings, brought back all that he had heard from the faith of Christ's followers; and the question, "Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou Me?" drove the shaft into his heart. This was, if true, a "mighty work"; but just as Jesus of Nazareth had on earth made mighty works minister to His revelation of the goodness of God, so the same Jesus of Nazareth now, from heaven, availed himself of a mighty work—the spiritual-corporeal manifestation of Himself—to break down the only barrier between an honest seeker and the truth. As before by His resurrection He had lifted His earlier followers out of the depths of their despair, that by their joy and confidence they might turn the hearts of their brethren the Jews; so once more, by the same resurrection, He burst the chain which bound that earnestness of will, that energy of purpose, that aspiration after truth, that burning zeal for holiness, that enthusiastic and tender-hearted devotion to an ideal, which afterwards gave the chiefest of the apostles the western world as a prize for Christ.

The very suddenness and abruptness and violence of the change has left its mark upon the message he was sent to deliver, has served to clothe it with persuasiveness and power. Caught in the midst of fierce enmity, and, not only pardoned for his sin, but honoured with a mission direct from Christ, with what force and with what humility he could proclaim Christ's free and unmerited grace! Bowed down all at once by remorse as the chief of sinners, because he had persecuted the Church of God, he beheld in the forgiving Christ who raised him up, no longer the Messiah of the Jews, but the Saviour of all the sinners of a godless

world. Appalled in a moment at the degradation with which his Pharisaic pride in Jewish privilege had overwhelmed him, he flung from him all Jewish prerogative, and grasped the universal equality of man. Snatched from his hopeless struggle with that slough of despond, the law as a source of righteousness, confounded with the revelation that in fighting for the law he had been rebelling against God, and flooded with the light that unveiled to him the person of Christ, he could preach a righteousness, not of weary works, but of lively faith in Him. Possessed with the surprising vision of Jesus of Nazareth, the crucified in weakness, the exalted in power, the almighty in love, he could know nothing among men but Christ and Him crucified, he could demand honour and glory for the Crucified, not in spite of, but because of the cross. Profoundly stirred by the Saviour's agony for his sake, he could henceforth count all things but loss that he might have fellowship with those sufferings, being made conformable unto that death. Christ came, Paul saw, Christ conquered; and the suddenness and completeness of the victory may help us to understand how, next to the resurrection of Christ, the most momentous event in the history of Christianity is the conversion of Paul.

JOHN MASSIE.

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### *THE EIGHTY-SIXTH PSALM.*

THE 86th Psalm forms a strong contrast to the four psalms—the 4th, the 8th, the 16th, and the 32nd—which we have already sought to study at once historically and devotionally. All these poems form part of the earliest collection of psalms, which the Jews called the first book of psalms, and which, from their freshness of style and, in some cases, from their supposed appropriateness to moments in the life of David,



were styled Davidic. But this poem, if poem it can be called, is not the work of an accomplished singer,<sup>1</sup> but a piece of literary mosaic, expressing the thoughts and aspirations of average members of the Church in phrases already familiar by liturgical use. It would not be difficult to go through the psalm, pointing out the probable sources from which almost every verse was drawn. So true it is, that even ordinary intellects may be so honoured by the Spirit's guidance as to produce something which the Church will never forget. And may I not illustrate this by some of our own hymns, which owe their well-deserved popularity less to any slight poetical merits than to their close following of the great lines of spiritual experience?

Our psalmist has no mere head-knowledge of that experience. He clings to those foundation-truths which are the only consolations in time of trouble. There is not much consecutiveness in his writing. He tells the Church for what it most needs to pray, and upon what grounds, not for God's sake, but for its own, it ought to base its petitions. He speaks, not in his private capacity, but as a Churchman. Even where, as in the words, "Give thy strength unto thy servant, and help the son of thine handmaid" (ver. 16), he may seem to refer to his own pious education, he is really thinking of his spiritual mother the Church, for the accompanying complaint and petition need a reference to the Church to justify them.

*"O God, the proud are risen up against me,*

*And a congregation<sup>2</sup> of violent men have sought after my soul,*

*And have not set thee before them.*

*Show me a token for good,*

*That they who hate me may see it and be ashamed."*

<sup>1</sup> "Prayer of David" is a most unhappy title, suggested, no doubt, by the occurrence in the psalm of expressions taken from the earlier "Davidic" Psalter.

<sup>2</sup> Kay renders "faction."

Those were the happy times when "Church" and "nation" were synonymous terms. True, the awful sin of apostasy had already raised its head in Jehovah's inheritance. But those "proud" and "violent" men, who are again referred to in other psalms,<sup>1</sup> especially the 119th, were self-excluded from the Israelitish community. The psalmist could have said of them what St. John said of the early heretics: "They went out from us, but they were not of us; for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us."<sup>2</sup> And for some time past the faithful worshippers had been accustomed to use the solemn interrogatories of the 15th and the 24th psalms, describing the qualities which Jehovah required in those who would be guests in His pavilion, and rise up in His holy place.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, in this very psalm the Churchman is taught to pray, not only, "Incline thine ear, for I am poor and needy" (ver. 1), but, "Preserve thou my soul; for I can trace in myself the chief note of the character which thou, O God, requirest" (ver. 2).

Let us pause a little on the second verse, to which I have referred. Both the Bible and the Prayer-Book version make the psalmist say, "*Preserve thou my soul, for I am holy*"; and St. Augustine unsuspectingly remarks, "Who can be the speaker of these words but the Sinless One, who took the form of a servant, and through whom, and through whom alone, the sanctified, that is, the baptized members of the Church, can dare to repeat them?" But, as we can see from the Revised Version, the ground of the psalmist's appeal is, not something which he has received, but something which he is. It may be true—it *is* true—that not even the least motion towards God can the soul make without a prior motion of God towards us. But the psalmist is not regarding himself from this high and heavenly point of view. He says, according to the Re-

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Pss. xix. 13; liv. 3; cxix. 21, etc.

<sup>2</sup> 1 John ii. 19.

Pss. xv. 1; xxiv. 3.

vised Version, "Preserve thou my soul, for I am godly"; or, since no single word will express the meaning, "Preserve thou my soul, for to thy covenant-love I respond with a feebler but still sincere covenant-love of my own." You see, it is not the state of holiness to which the psalmist lays claim, but the overmastering affection of moral love, the same in kind as that of which he is conscious towards his brother Israelites, and in some degree towards his brother men. To a good Israelite there is no boastfulness implied in such a claim as the psalmist's. Whom should he love but Jehovah, who has granted Israel a "covenant ordered in all things and sure," a covenant based on the presupposition that those who desire its benefits are bound by practical love to each other, and, both as individuals and as a community, by worshipping and obedient love to Jehovah? Israel's proudest title is that he is one that loves, not vaguely and at random, but supported by the profound consciousness of duty. "Thou shalt love Jehovah thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength."<sup>1</sup> This is the duty; and here is the reward:

*"Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore will I deliver him:*

*I will set him on high, because he hath known my name."*<sup>2</sup>

Observe, it is not, Because he hath set his love upon me, therefore I also will love him. By nature, Israel was not worthy to be loved; and if, in spite of this, Jehovah loved him, it was for the sake of the fathers,<sup>3</sup> especially Abraham the "friend of God." But now, after the lapse of ages, a regenerate Israel is learning to love God; the title "Jehovah's friend," so gloriously borne by Abraham, can be given by a psalmist to faithful Israelites. "O friends of Jehovah," he says, "hate the evil thing."<sup>4</sup> And this is really

Deut. vi. 5.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xci. 14.

<sup>3</sup> Exod. ix. 6; Deut. iv. 37, x. 15; cf. Rom. xi. 28.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. xevii. 10.

implied in the title assumed by the typical Churchman in the 86th Psalm, "Preserve thou my soul, for I am one that loves." For Jehovah too is "one that loves."

*"Righteous is Jehovah in all his ways,  
And loving (or kind) in all his works."*<sup>1</sup>

Consequently the relation between Jehovah and the true Israel—the Israel which is not stiff-necked, but yields to the soft guidance of Jehovah's eye<sup>2</sup>—is a sublimation of human friendship. Yes; just as God leads the child through the happy experience of human fatherhood to the enrapturing conception and experience of a Divine Father, so through the pearl of human friendship He would have us form some dim but truthful idea of that pearl of great price, the Divine friendship.

To me this verse seems transfigured, when understood as an appeal from one friend to another. I do not forget the more awful aspects of the Divine nature; there are times when it is natural and right to dwell upon them. But for a happy Christian life we need to dwell predominantly on the softer picture of our God presented to us by and in Christ. God is our friend. He knows our wants (our real wants) better than we do ourselves, and He has the will and the power to relieve them. We will not say to Him, "Preserve thou my soul; for, through Christ, I am holy and acceptable unto thee," but rather, as that noble 16th Psalm says, "Preserve thou me, for I have no good beyond thee," or, as our psalm, when rightly understood, expresses it, "Preserve me, for I am one of thy circle of friends."<sup>3</sup> There is nothing arrogant in this. God in the olden time offered this friendship to every true Israelite; and in these happy Christian days He offers it to every child of man.

<sup>1</sup> Ps. cxlv. 17.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxxii. 8, 9.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xxv. 14 may be rendered, "The intimacy of Jehovah is for them that fear him."



‘I say to thee, do thou repeat  
To the first man thou mayest meet  
In lane, highway, or open street,  
That he and we and all men move  
Under a canopy of love,  
As broad as the blue sky above”:

or, in the words of our psalmist:

“(That) *thou, O Lord, art good and ready to forgive,  
And rich in lovingkindness unto all them that call upon  
thee.*”

You will see that I have had to amend one word even in the Revised Version of this passage; following the American Revisers, I have changed “mercy” into “lovingkindness.” Both are gentle words, and fill the air with benediction. But the psalmists draw a deeply felt distinction between them, and to obliterate it is to spoil many psalms, and especially the 86th, the keynote of which is lovingkindness. Do but observe how ever and anon this sweet word or its adjective drops from the writer’s pen. “Preserve thou my soul, for I am one that loves.” “Thou, Jehovah, art rich in lovingkindness.” “Great is thy lovingkindness towards me.” “Thou, O Lord, art a God rich in lovingkindness and truth.” I have pointed out how the first of these passages is marred by an imperfect rendering. But the three other verses from which I have quoted have suffered equally. And even Jeremy Taylor, great alike as a saint and as a prose-poet, has in some respects marred two of his gorgeous sermons, nominally based on ver. 5 of this psalm, by not seeing that this is one of the group of psalms of lovingkindness. All that he can find in this text is “miracles of the Divine *mercy.*” Listen to his solemn word-music.

“Man having destroyed that which God delighted in, that is, the beauty of his soul, fell into an evil portion, and being seized upon by the Divine Justice grew miserable, and condemned to an incurable sorrow. . . . God’s eye watched him; His Omniscience was man’s

accuser, His Severity was the Judge, His Justice the Executioner. . . . In the midst of these sadnesses, God remembered His own creature, and pitied it, and by His Mercy rescued him from the hand of His Power, and the Sword of His Justice, and the guilt of his punishment, and the disorder of his sin. . . . It was Mercy that preserved the noblest of God's creatures here below; he who stood condemned and undone under all the other attributes of God, was only saved and rescued by His Mercy; that it may be evident that God's Mercy is above all His works, and above all ours, greater than the Creation, and greater than our sins. . . . And God's Justice bowed down to His Mercy, and all His Power passed into Mercy, and his Omniscience converted into care and watchfulness, into Providence and observation for man's avail; and heaven gave its influence for man, and rained showers for our food and drink; and the attributes and acts of God sat at the feet of Mercy, and all that mercy descended upon the head of man."<sup>1</sup>

This is what the great preacher means by "miracles of the Divine mercy," and supposes to be in the mind of the writer of the 86th Psalm. Well, "miracles" the psalmist certainly does refer to. He says in ver. 10,

*"Thou art great, and doest wondrous things,  
Thou art God alone";*

and in ver. 15, he refers to the Divine mercy,

*"Thou, O Lord, art a God full of compassion (i.e. merciful)  
and gracious."*

But, as I have said, the Divine "mercy" is not foremost in the writer's mind; God's "miracles" are to him miracles of lovingkindness. Nor is Jeremy Taylor's idea of the Divine "mercy" the only admissible nor, for ordinary Christians, the most wholesome one. If you feed upon the view of truth presented in this fine passage till it colours your inmost nature, you will no doubt gain a grand, a simple, and a concentrated Christian character, but the moral tension in which you live will communicate to your bearing a certain hardness which will contrast unfavourably with the gentleness of the gracious Master. It is well sometimes to say and to feel the words:

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons* (1678), p. 383.

"Mercy, good Lord, mercy I ask;  
This is my humble prayer;  
For mercy, Lord, is all my suit,  
O let Thy mercy spare."

For, as another psalmist says,

*"God is a righteous Judge,*

*Yea, a God that hath indignation every day";*<sup>1</sup>

and, looking at ourselves apart from Christ and His Spirit, we can have no hope of acquittal. But as soon as we admit into our mind the idea of the Divine covenant, the conceptions of "justice" and "mercy" become transfigured, and "shine with something of celestial light." All that fine passage of Jeremy Taylor then becomes simply a description of what God and man would respectively be apart from that succession of covenants which both Old and New Testament writers trace in the very earliest age of history. There never was a time when God's name was any other than Love; man might not know the covenant, or might know it but vaguely, and yet from the foundation of the world the relation of God to man was the same as it is now through the eternal Word. Nor can it be said that the first covenants were merely legal covenants. Oh no; there are germs of the gospel in the book of Genesis, and even if the eyes of the early men could but dimly see them, yet God seeth not as man seeth, and "with Him is no variableness."

To realize this is the secret of an equable and serene Christian temper. God's "righteousness" now becomes His consistent and undeviating adherence to His revealed purpose of salvation. "He is faithful and just" (or, righteous), as St. John says, "to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness." "Spare us, good Lord," may be paraphrased by another psalmist's words, "Think upon the covenant." And God's "mercy" now becomes something very different from that clemency

<sup>1</sup> Ps. vii. 11 (Revised Version).

which, in consideration of human weakness, an omnipotent King may extend to His erring subjects. The word needs rather to be expanded into "*tender* mercy," so as to form a fit accompaniment to "*lovingkindness*,"<sup>1</sup> according to that sweet saying of the 103rd Psalm in the common version, "Who crowneth thee with lovingkindness and tender mercies" (ver. 4). For it suggests, or ought to suggest, not the narrowness of our escape from a punishment too awful for words, but that yearning of a father over his child, the suppression of which would be, not only unmerciful, but a breach of an eternal covenant. There are some things which are beyond even God's omnipotence, and one of these is the withholding of love from any single child of man. Or rather, there is, according to biblical religion, no such thing as omnipotence; there is only a strong, righteous, wise, everlasting love<sup>2</sup>—a love which has bound itself to shrink from no effort in order to bring the beloved object into moral union with itself. Such love has an enthralling power; "the love of Christ constraineth us," or, as St. John says, according to the undoubtedly correct revised version, "We love (no need to say whom), because he first loved us." We cannot from the nature of the case return God's "mercy," except in deeds of mercy to those who are in greater need than ourselves. But we can return His love. Looking upon God in Christ, not as an awful King, far away and uninterested in our small concerns, but as a Friend, as close to us as our own soul is to our body, a Friend, who has made known His high purposes to us, and given us the inestimable privilege and power of forwarding them, how can we but love Him?

And shall we not even love these passages of the Psalms

<sup>1</sup> The A.V. of Ps. cxvii. 2, cxix. 76, produces the alternative "merciful kindness"; in Ps. cxix. 77, the Prayer-Book renders, for "mercies" or "compassions," "loving mercies." Both fine, but confusing the synonyms.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Tennyson's beautiful line, "Strong Son of God, immortal Love."



which give us an insight into the loving heart of Jehovah, and supply a chaste and yet fervent expression for our own responsive feeling—love them with a love which will take some trouble to learn better why they are worth loving? Were this the time and the place, it would be pleasant to go through these passages, and set forth their beauties. But three out of the four psalms which we have studied already contain one or more of them, and from these three psalms let me in conclusion gather up some five words on lovingkindness.

*“ See what surpassing lovingkindness Jehovah hath shown me ;*

*Jehovah heareth when I call unto him ”* (iv. 8; cf. 1 John iii. 1).

*“ For this let all men of love pray unto thee in time of distress,*

*When the flood of the great waters is heard ”* (xxxii. 6).

*“ Thou wilt not leave my soul to Hades,*

*Neither wilt thou suffer thy loving one to see the pit ”* (xvi. 10).

*“ Preserve thou my soul, for I am one that loves ”* (lxxxvi. 2).

*“ For thou, Lord, art good and forgiving,*

*And rich in lovingkindness unto all that call upon thee ”* (lxxxvi. 3).

T. K. CHEYNE.

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## THE NERONIC DATE OF THE APOCALYPSE UNTENABLE.

AMONG competent judges the difference on this subject lies between two periods: *the reign of Nero*, and shortly before the destruction of Jerusalem, about A.D. 68; or *the reign of Domitian*, and shortly before his death, about A.D. 95 or 96.

Of *external evidence* for the former date there is absolutely none. In fact, this date was never heard of till the sixth century, and even then only in the superscription to a Syriac version of the book supposed to be of that date. After that we hear nothing of it till, in the twelfth century, we find Theophylact assigning it to the reign of Nero.

But what says ecclesiastical history to the later date? The great witness, as he is the primary one, is IRENÆUS, bishop of Lyons A.D. 177 to *circa* 202. To Gaul he came from Asia Minor, where he tells us he was a hearer of Polycarp, bishop of Smyrna and disciple of the Apostle John. In his great work *Against Heresies*, we find him discussing the two readings of "the number of the beast" (Rev. xiii. 18) whether in the original text it was 666 or 616. He says that in all the approved and ancient copies (*ἐν πᾶσι ταῖς σπουδαίαις καὶ ἀρχαίαις ἀντιγράφαις*) the reading was 666, and that this reading was attested by those who had seen John face to face (*καὶ μαρτυροῦντων αὐτῶν ἐκείνων τῶν κατ' ὄψιν τὸν Ἰωάννην ἑωρακάτων*). The importance attached to this reading lay in the belief that this number enigmatically pointed to the expected antichrist, whose name (he says) he will not speak of confidently, "because had it been necessary to name him at the present time, it would have been declared by him who saw the Revelation; nor was it long since it had been seen, but almost in our own generation (*οὐδὲ γὰρ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἑωράθη ἀλλὰ σχεδὸν ἐπὶ τῆς ἡμέτερας γενεᾶς*), about the end of Domitian's reign."

This very important statement is twice quoted *verbatim* by Eusebius (*H. E.* iii. 18 and v. 8), and the value of it is so felt by the advocates of the early date, that they make every effort to break it down; while all subsequent testimony is regarded as but an echo of this one, and therefore of no value. We must weigh it then, and all the more because the *date* of the book has an important bearing on the interpretation of it.

Observe, then, that Irenæus "saw and heard" Polycarp in his youth, or early manhood (*ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ ἡμῶν ἡλικίᾳ*, iii. 4); and he so describes him as to shew what a deep impression that venerable Father had made upon him—an impression of his person as well as his teaching—as may be gathered from a remarkable passage in his "Letter to Florinus." He is there reasoning against certain heresies, and he appeals to the testimony of Polycarp, whose disciples Florinus and he had been. "For I saw thee while I was yet a youth (*παῖς ὢν ἐτί*) in Asia Minor with Polycarp. For impressions made in youth are better remembered than those made quite recently. For what we have been in our youth grows with our spirit, and gets incorporated with it, insomuch that I could even tell the place where the blessed Polycarp sat when discoursing, his exits and entrances, his manner of life and the appearance of his person, his addresses to the people, and his familiarity with John and others who had seen the Lord, which he related to us, and their sayings which he reported."<sup>1</sup>

May I not appeal to those who will candidly weigh these statements, whether they do not shew that Irenæus was speaking *from knowledge* of the fact, when he says that the Revelation was seen not long since, but almost in his own generation, near the close of Domitian's reign?

Coming next to the *internal* evidence for the Neronic

<sup>1</sup> *Irenæi Opp.*, ed. Stieren, 1883 (pp. 822, 823).

date—for it has nothing else to rest on—let us see what the book itself has to say to the question.

1. In the first, the introductory chapter, the seer tells us how, when in the rocky isle of Patmos, in the *Ægean* Sea, banished there “for the word of God and for the testimony of Jesus Christ,” he was “in the Spirit on *the Lord’s day*.” Observe the testimony to the late date of this book which crops out, quite incidentally, at the very outset. Up to the date of the last of the Pauline Epistles, the only name for this day current among the Christians was “the first day of the week.” Now, since (according to Jerome) the Apostle Paul was beheaded in the 14th year of Nero’s reign (A.D. 68), it must have been after that, and probably some years after, ere this most appropriate abbreviation came into such *established* use as is implied here. And if this is true, it disposes at once of the Neronic date.

2. The glaring difference between the Greek of the Apocalypse and that of the Fourth Gospel has led one class of critics to believe that both works cannot have come from the same author; while others (believing critics), holding that both came from the pen of the Apostle John, explain the peculiar style of Greek in which the Apocalypse is written by its early (Neronic) date, when the apostle was less familiar with the use of the language than when he wrote his Gospel. This is Dr. Westcott’s view. But is this the only way of accounting for the *solecisms* of the Apocalypse? Startling they certainly are, both in their number and in their harshness; but that they are no proof of the writer’s inability to write good Greek is freely admitted, and indeed is evident from his accuracy in other places. The only question then is, Must we explain it by his immaturity in the use of the Greek language? If so, you will have to explain how this immaturity does not shew itself from beginning to end. And what is harder still, you will have to shew how so raw a hand, as you



suppose the writer to be, was able to *coin* such compound words as ποταμοφόρητος (xii. 15), "river-borne" ("carried away by the stream," R.V.); and μεσουρανήμα (xiv. 6), "mid-heaven," found only in one medical writer of about the third century; and χαλκολιβανον (i. 15, ii. 18) "burnished brass" (R.V.). This kind of coinage seems to me to put an end to the theory of unfamiliarity with the use of the language, and, so far as that is concerned, to the necessity of an early date to the Apocalypse.

How else the solecisms are to be accounted for, I pretend not to explain. But I may be pardoned for throwing out this conjecture. Suppose the seer, being "in the Spirit," and writing under this inspiration, should find that in the rapid flow of his words these abnormal forms had dropped unsought from his pen, half dithyrambically, but on observing this, had thought it right to leave them uncorrected, is there anything incredible or improbable in this? Be this however as it may, if it is not to be traced to ignorance of the language, it has no bearing on the date of the book.

But, it may be said, it is not on the solecisms of the book only that we rest; the whole *style* of Greek used here differs from that of the Fourth Gospel. True enough, but why? Not because of any difference of *date*, but because the *subject-matter* required a totally different style of writing. Every one knows the difference between prose and poetry. Poets studiously avoid ordinary, familiar forms of expression, and in the choice of words and phrases they go out of their way to find whatever is rare, startling, figurative. Now the prophetic style, while it has all these characteristics of real poetry, has a boldness and intensity peculiar to itself. Dealing, as it does with the unseen, the celestial and infernal, the transporting and the terrifying, with what stirs the soul as earthly things cannot, it rises to heights and sinks to depths of its own. And if this is

to be seen in all Hebrew prophecy, in the Apocalypse it stands out unrivalled.

As to the avoidance of familiar words and phrases, let any one, with his Greek Testament in hand, observe the number of uncommon words and phrases, *evidently selected as such*, in the Apocalypse, and he will be convinced, I think, that not any difference of date will explain this, but that it is due rather to the prophetic *character of the subject-matter*. One illustration of this, which strikes me while I write, I may here give. The unusual word *ῥομφαία* for a "sword" is used in the Apocalypse sixteen times, but nowhere else in the New Testament, save once, and that in a *prophetic utterance*, Luke ii. 35.

As specimens of the prophetic style in the Old Testament prophets, let any one compare Isaiah xiii., xiv. with the *prose* of the same Isaiah; or the *δεινότης* of Ezekiel xxvii., xxviii. with the *prose* of the same Ezekiel in such places as xxiii. 21, 22; or our Lord's own style in His terrific denunciations of the "scribes and pharisees, hypocrites," in Matthew xxiii. 13 to end, and the style of His prophecy of Jerusalem in Matthew xxiv. or Luke xxi., when compared with the inimitable *prose* of His parting address to the Eleven at the supper table, and the high-priestly prayer with which it closes—

"O, it came o'er my ear like the sweet south  
That breathes upon a bank of violets,  
Stealing, and giving odour,"—

and he will not doubt, I think, that it was the *subject-matter* that gave birth to the *style* of the Apocalypse. In fact, every good writer's style varies with what he writes about. And if proof were wanting that the apocalyptic seer was no stranger to this ability, we need only refer to the pure *prose* of the Epistles to the seven Churches (chap. ii., iii.), in the very midst of which two of the solecisms occur.

3. If the following features of the Apocalypse have any truth in them, the advocates of the *late* date of that book entirely misunderstand it. And as the quarter from which the statement of them comes is entitled to great deference, I must examine it in detail. It is thus expressed by Dr. Westcott, in the Introduction to his great work on the *Gospel of St. John*:

‘The Apocalypse is doctrinally the uniting link between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel. It offers the characteristic thoughts of the Fourth Gospel in that form of development which belongs to the earliest apostolic age. It belongs to different historical circumstances, to a different phase of intellectual progress, to a different theological stage, from that of St. John’s Gospel; and yet it is not only harmonious with it in teaching, but in the order of thought it is the necessary germ out of which the Gospel proceeded by a process of life.’<sup>1</sup>

With submission, I venture to say, that there is no such relation between the Apocalypse and the Fourth Gospel as is here described. Harmonious indeed they are in their teaching, but the one is in no sense the germ of the other. The truths common to both are presented historically in the one book, in the other scenically. In the Gospel they appear in their abstract, settled, enduring form, unaffected alike by time and by circumstances; in the Apocalypse they appear in the concrete form, taking their shape from definite circumstances and specific occasions. In the one case, the interest they possess lies wholly in what is of eternal moment; in the other case, it lies in the changing forms which the great struggle between the organized kingdoms of light and of darkness assumes in successive ages. With what propriety, then, can it be said that the one is the necessary germ out of which the other proceeds, that the one represents an earlier stage in the development of the same characteristics as the other? In this respect I venture to think that they admit of no comparison.

<sup>1</sup> *Gospel of St. John* “Introd.,” p. lxxxiv. (Murray, 1882.)

There is however a true, a most important sense in which the truths common to both books appear in a less developed form in the one book than in the other. But it is not in the Apocalypse, but in the Fourth Gospel that that less developed form appears. In that latest Gospel the developed results of God's redeeming love and of Christ's finished work could not possibly appear. But in the Apocalypse they stand out in a form so naked, so rich, so thrilling, as to endear that book to thousands who never attempt to sound the depths of its prophetic mysteries. "*I have many things to say unto you,*" were among the last words which the Master addressed to the Eleven before He suffered, "*but ye cannot bear them now. Howbeit when He, the Spirit of truth, is come, He shall guide you into all the truth: for He shall not speak from Himself; but what things soever He shall hear, these shall He speak: and He shall declare unto you the things that are to come.*" He shall glorify Me: for He shall receive of Mine, and shall declare it unto you. All things whatsoever the Father hath are Mine: therefore said I, that He taketh of Mine, and shall declare it unto you." The best commentary on these words is, first of all, the Acts of the Apostles, from beginning to end; and yet, even there, we find ourselves only in the vestibule of the temple of "the Spirit of truth." Only after the disciples had been formed into Churches, needing further instruction by the precious Epistles written to them, do we see how the Spirit had "guided them into all the truth," making them "able to comprehend what is the breadth, and length, and depth, and height, and to know the love of Christ, which passeth knowledge, and be filled with all the fulness of God." So long as the Master was with them, the very language in which such things are expressed in the Epistles would have been unintelligible. But once ascended on high, and the Holy Ghost resting on the Church, the apostles could say to the Churches they had



gathered, and the Churches could understand them when they said, "In whom we have redemption through His blood, the forgiveness of sins, according to the riches of His grace"; and so, in every varied form, in all the Epistles. But the Apocalypse lifts us to even a higher region, giving forth the same truths in strains so exalted as almost to dim the brightness of them everywhere else. There the veil seems to be lifted, and we are ushered into the midst of things invisible and inaudible, with eyes to see and ears to hear. What is elsewhere simply *announced* is here *enacted*; what elsewhere is *said* is here *sung*, sweeping upon the ear in strains celestial. "We love Him (says the beloved disciple), because He first loved us,"—words which will never die upon the lips of any that has ever felt it. But here he rises even above himself, bursting out into song. "Unto Him that loved us, and washed us from our sins in His own blood, and hath made us kings and priests unto God and His Father, to Him be glory and dominion for ever and ever. Amen." In the Epistle to the Hebrews we read, "To them that look for Him shall He appear the second time without sin unto salvation." Delightful prose, indeed; but as if that were too tame, here we seem to see Himself darting through these heavens, to the view of every eye: "Behold, He cometh with clouds; and every eye shall see Him, and they also which pierced Him: and all kindreds of the earth shall wail because of Him."

But do I see evidence in this of a later *date* for the Apocalypse? So far from that, I believe that his Gospel, his Epistles, and the Apocalypse were all written by the last of the apostles in his old age. But instead of its being "doctrinally the uniting link between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel," "the necessary germ out of which by a process of life the Fourth Gospel proceeded" (a view of the subject very wide of the mark, as I humbly think), it is in my view simply the same truths, which in their ripest

stage and fullest development appear in the Epistles, lifted up (in the entrancing effect which they produce upon the heart) to the third heaven.

How true this is, grows upon one the farther he advances in the study of the book. When we come to the strictly prophetic part of it, we have at the outset a grand introductory vision in two parts: in the first part (chap. iv.) of God as *Creator*; in the second (chap. v.) of Christ as *Redeemer*; in both cases however it is in a language of its own, the significance of which is such that it seems, by its symbols and scenic actions, to compress within a nutshell all that is grandest and richest in every other part of Scripture. In the first part we have "Him that sitteth upon the throne," in whose ears day and night is heard the cry, from one class, of "Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and which is, and which is to come," and from another, "Worthy art Thou, our Lord and our God, to receive the glory and the honour and the power: for Thou didst create all things, and because of Thy good will they were, and were created." This is the Hymn of *creation*. Now for *redemption*. In the right hand of Him that sat on the throne is seen a book (the book of the Church's fortunes). A challenge is addressed in a loud voice to all creation, for one worthy to open it and reveal its contents, if such could be found. But none answering, the seer weeps much, as if the case were desperate. But he is soon relieved with an assurance which can only be expressed in the angelic language, "Behold, the Lion of the tribe of Judah, the Root of David, hath conquered" (ἐνίκησεν) the right "to open and loose" the seals of this mysterious book. Whereupon, "in the midst of the throne, and in the midst of the living creatures, and in the midst of the elders, I saw a LAMB standing, *as though it had been slain* (in the eternal freshness, the all-atoning virtue, of His precious blood), having seven horns and seven eyes,

which are the seven Spirits of God, sent forth into all the earth" (the omnipotence and omniscience of the Spirit in the hands of the enthroned Lamb over the whole earth, to conquer for Himself His inheritance, the uttermost parts of the earth for His possession). This done, the whole ransomed Church (in its twofold character of priests and kings, "the living creatures and the elders"), with their harps and the sweet incense of their deepest emotions, sang that "new song" which will never grow old, "Thou art worthy to take the book and loose its seals: for Thou wast slain, and didst purchase us with Thy blood out of every tribe, and tongue, and people, and nation; and madest them to be unto our God kings and priests: and they do reign (or shall reign) upon the earth," that earth which the fall sold into the hands of the usurper, now cast out. The angels then join in the chorus, but one note is now left out. "Worthy is the Lamb that hath been slain" (not now "for us"); and this is at length taken up by the whole creation, in a fourfold ascription of "blessing, and honour, and glory, and power to Him that sitteth upon the throne, and to the Lamb, for ever and ever"—thus clasping both parts of this incomparable vision in one, while the Church says the "Amen" to "Him that liveth for ever and ever."

But what bearing, it may be asked, has this upon the question of *date*? To me it suggests this question: Is it natural to suppose that a book presenting the most exalted conceptions of the glory and majesty of the Eternal, with the ripest and richest expressions of the Person and work of Christ, and both these breaking upon our ear in strains of celestial music, was written so much earlier than the Fourth Gospel that "it belongs to the earliest apostolic age"? For myself, I cannot believe it.

But this becomes more difficult to believe as we advance in the visions of the book. We have seen how the two

central Objects, "GOD and THE LAMB," stand out together in the great introductory vision. In chap. vii. the seer beholds "standing before the throne, and before the Lamb, a great multitude which no man could number, out of every nation, and of all tribes, and peoples, and tongues, arrayed in white robes, and palms in their hands, and crying with a loud voice, Salvation unto our God, which sitteth on the throne (the *Source* of it), and unto the Lamb (the mediatorial *Channel* of it)"; while round about them stood all the angels, who fall on their faces, and worship Him that liveth for ever and ever. But what is the secret of those "white robes" and their right to "stand" before the throne, since from the very face of Him that sitteth upon it "the earth and the heaven fled away" at the last judgment, "and there was found no place for them"? They had come out of the great tribulation, and had "*washed their robes, and made them white, in the blood of the Lamb.* Therefore are they before the throne of God," etc. Does such language read as if it "belonged to the earliest apostolic age"? That is not my reading of the New Testament.

A word on the surpassing strains of the two last chapters. When one reads in the *Pilgrim's Progress*, how, when winding up his immortal allegory, the author's language sounds like the music of heaven, he is ready to say, Was ever such a finish given to any story? But whence did he draw his inspiration? From this book; but for whose closing chapters—fit close to the inspired volume itself—we are safe to say such language could never have been penned. Yet this, we are to believe, "belongs to the earliest apostolic age"!

These however are but great generalities. To me there are certain specific characteristics of this book which speak for anything but an *early* date.

1. The Church of God under the old dispensation was



one undivided whole, existing only in "the Lord's land," and its central seat was on Mount Zion, in the Tabernacle and Temple. Accordingly the golden candlestick, or lamp-stand, was *one*, and the seven branches of it, when all lighted up, gave light to the whole interior. But in the Apocalypse, at the very outset, the seer beheld, not one, but "*seven golden candlesticks*" or lamp-stands; and as these represented the seven distinct Churches, there is here announced a complete ecclesiastical revolution—the Church of God, in its external framework, no longer one, but broken up into sections corresponding with the geographical divisions of its members. Our Lord gives a very distinct intimation that such a division of "His sheep" was at hand. Speaking of His true disciples, who at that time were all Jews, He says: "I lay down My life for the sheep. And *other sheep I have, which are not of this fold: them also I must bring, and they shall hear My voice; and they shall become one flock and one Shepherd*" (John x. 16). The A.V. by translating "*one fold*," expresses the precise theory of the Church of Rome, that the whole Church of Christ should be within one pale. But since the seven Churches of Asia were in all outward respects as distinct from one another in their corporate existence and internal condition as were the localities in which they were placed, so we must hold the teaching of the Apocalypse to be, that the Church of Christ is intended to consist of as many distinct and independent branches as the different localities (or perhaps impossible combinations) in which they find themselves.

That such a conception could not have found a place in a book written "in the earliest apostolic age," and in so distracted a time as on the eve of the destruction of Jerusalem, I do not say. But in my judgment it clearly belongs more naturally to a later stage and a more settled state of things in the development of the Church of Christ. But this brings me to the Epistles to the seven Churches.

2. I am not disposed to make too much of the degenerate character of some of these seven Churches, especially of the last one, *Laodicæa*, as an evidence of the *late* date at which they must have been written. But taken along with other arguments in the same direction, this degeneracy is certainly noteworthy. Take the first of these Epistles, to *Ephesus*. Three years or more after this Church sprang up, in a city steeped in a gorgeous and witching idolatry, its spiritual father addressed them through its assembled elders at Miletus (Acts xx.); but though he had to warn them against an influx of self-seeking teachers, and false brethren among themselves, the Epistle which he wrote to them about four years after that, so far from shewing that they had sensibly declined, teems with evidence implying rather a steady condition. But when the Master addresses this Church in the Apocalypse—within four or five years only after that, if the Neronic date is adopted—it had so sunk that, should it not repent, the removal of its candlestick, or its extinction as a Church, would follow. The Church of *Sardis* “had a name to live”—a reputation among the churches for being full of spiritual life—“but was dead”: the life they had having died down, and they were living upon their reputation. The white raiment given them at their conversion (cf. Zech. iii. 4) had been so ill kept that but “a few names” could be found who “had not defiled” them. As for the *Laodicæans*’ condition, it was so loathsome in the pure eye of its exalted Lord, that He likens it to food which one is fain to vomit up. Does this look like Churches only a few years in existence?

3. THE LAMB, as a proper name, is never applied to Christ by any New Testament writer save John, and even by him nowhere in his Gospel nor in his Epistles. For though it occurs twice in his Gospel, he is there reporting an exclamation of the Baptist (John i. 29, 36). But when we come to the Apocalypse, we find it no fewer than *twenty-*

*eight* times. In fact, the constant recurrence of this remarkable epithet is a special characteristic of the book; and if the reader will refer back to the remarks on this phrase as it occurs in chap. v. (p. 280) he will come, I think, to this conclusion: that while it presents the great central truth of the atonement in no more fully developed form than in the Pauline and Petrine Epistles, it is a form which, if it had struck upon the ear of the Church in the time of these apostles, it would have become the *current coin* of its phraseology—one of those household words which could not fail to crop out here and there, if only for variety, in their writings. But since we find it nowhere but in this book, it is to me no slight evidence that it was not in existence in their day.

4. "*The books of life*" is a phrase used only once elsewhere in the New Testament (Phil. iv.) as a record of *names*, the names of the righteous, which God is supposed to keep; we find it as early as the days of Moses (Exod. xxxii. 32). The psalmist catches it up (Ps. lxix. 28; cxxxix. 16). In Malachi (iii. 16) it is said, of a time of deep religious declension, that "a book of remembrance was written before Him, for them that feared the Lord, and that thought upon His name." But in Daniel, *the apocalyptic book of the Old Testament*, besides occurring in the definite form, "the book" (xii. 1), we have the phrase in a quite distinct form—that of "*books*" in the plural number. The scene in which it occurs is a scene of "the last judgment"; but it is not of individual *men*, but of *nations* in their corporate capacity, and therefore *here on earth*. It is the judgment of the four kingdoms previously specified, the oppressors of the Church, together with one terrible form of the fourth one. "Thrones" of judgment being "placed, One that was the "Ancient of days did sit" for judgment in terrible majesty, surrounded by myriads of angels; the judgment was set, "and THE BOOKS were opened." This

was no record of *names*, but of the *deeds* of those kingdoms for which they were to be condemned, and their kingdoms were to give place to that of the "Son of man," whose kingdom is an everlasting kingdom. Now observe how this double conception of "the *book*" (of names) and "the *books*" (of deeds) is taken up in our New Testament Apocalypse. Four times it comes before us; but I begin with the place where they both appear in a very definite and most wary form (chap. xx. 11, 12, 15). "And I saw a great white throne, and Him that sat upon it, from whose face the earth and heaven fled away, and there was found no place for them. And I saw the dead, the great and the small, standing before the throne; and *books* were opened, and *another book* was opened, which is *the book of life*: and the dead were judged out of those things which were written in *the books*, according to their works. . . . And if any one was not written in the book, he was cast into the lake of fire." The sublime idea conveyed by this artistic distinction between "the book" and "the books" is that the judgment proceeded exclusively upon "their works," as recorded in "the books"; but that this done, "that other book was opened," from which it appeared that this decision, both upon the righteous and the wicked, had been recorded in that book "from the foundation of the world"—the names of those adjudged by "the books" to eternal life" being exclusively found there, while the absence of the names of all others ("if any one was not found written" there) expressed negatively what would be found to be their due. Thus two characteristics of this book come out; its being the book of those "ordained to eternal life" (Acts xiii. 48), and its having been written "before the foundation of the world." Another characteristic of vital moment is, that it is "the book of life of the Lamb that was slain," that is, specifically in His sacrificial character; teaching this great truth, that the names found in this book



were written there solely in virtue of their connexion with His atoning death, eventually to take place. And so it is called "the Lamb's book of life."<sup>1</sup>

What conclusion now, as to the *date* of the Apocalypse, do I draw from these facts? Decidedly this: that the whole conception of "the book of life," and "the books" out of which the dead will be judged, has advanced progressively in the outcome of Divine revelation, and that, appearing only in its fullest, most artistic, and most speaking form, it proclaims its place in the order of time, to be in this book, as the fitting close of all revealed truth. But—

5. What shall I say of the almost countless number of phrases peculiar to this book, but full of pregnancy? Take the seven Epistles—"the first love," of one Church, "left," and "the last works," of another Church, "more than the first"; the burning eyes of their exalted Head having "a few things" against two of the Churches otherwise praised; one Church commended for having "a little strength," and not "denying His name," "the second death," and so on. Then, in the prophetic part, the central position given to the symbols of the living creatures and the elders (because representing the redeemed, as is evident from chap. v. 9) while *outside* of them and surrounding them are the angels, who also ascribe worthiness to the Lamb that was slain, but do not say "for us" as in ver. 9). And above-all, the constant conjunction of "Him that sitteth upon the throne and the Lamb," the one as

<sup>1</sup> It is a thousand pities, I think, that both the Authorized and Revised Versions punctuate chap. xiii. 8 thus: "The book of life of the Lamb slain from the foundation of the world." No such idea as this, that Christ was crucified before the foundation of the world, is anywhere else to be found in the New Testament; and if any one will compare the same idea of chap. xiii. 8 as it is repeated in xvii. 8, where only the writing of their names from the foundation of the world (not His being slain from that time) is mentioned, he will see, I think, that the following is the proper punctuation of the verse: "All whose names are not written from the foundation of the world in the book of life of the Lamb that hath been slain" (as in the margin of the R.V.).

the Fountain whence flows all salvation, the other as the Channel through which it all flows to men. In chap. v., the relative position of each respectively, and their absolute oneness in the work of redemption (as in John xiv. 7, 9-11, 23; xvi. 15; xvii. 21), stand boldly out; but in chap. vi. 16 we have them awfully associated in "the wrath of Him that sitteth upon the throne, and *the wrath of the Lamb.*" In a word, that peculiar name given to the enemy of souls, suggested by his occupation, "the accuser of the brethren," who "accuses them before our God day and night." In fact, the whole book teems with unique epithets and phrases, and symbolic arrangements, suggestive of the "unsearchable riches" of that scheme of salvation which, while expressed it is true in fully developed forms in the apostolic Epistles, appears in this book as if the seer had been instructed to take us, not into the sanctuary only, but into the holy of holies.

In view of all this, can it be said that this book reads like "the connecting link between the Synoptists and the Fourth Gospel," and "that form of development which belongs to the earliest apostolic age"? Let the reader judge.

DAVID BROWN.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### XIV. CHRIST AND AARON (CHAP. VIII.).

THE discourse on Melchisedec is ended, and now Aaron comes to the front. Having used the priest of Salem to set forth the dignity and value of Christ's priesthood, the writer proceeds now to use the high priest of Israel to convey an idea of His priestly functions. The aim of this new section, extending from the commencement of the eighth to the end of the ninth chapter, is to show that the

priestly ministry of Christ is as much superior to that of the Levitical priests as He Himself is personally superior to them. The rubric of the whole passage is "the more excellent ministry." But as comparison can be made only between things that have something in common, so this comparison between Christ and the Levitical priest implies a certain resemblance which it is the writer's purpose to exhibit. By the one train of thought he accomplishes a twofold object, establishing superiority on a basis of similitude.

Thus he *crowns*<sup>1</sup> the discourse on the priestly Minister after the order of Melchisedec by a discourse on His priestly ministry in terms drawn from the order of Aaron. He does this on Scripture authority. His warrant for representing Christ as a Priest after the order of Melchisedec is the oracle in Psalm cx. His warrant for describing Christ's priestly functions in terms of those performed by the priests of the house of Aaron he finds in the injunction twice recorded in Exodus xxv., "*See that thou make all things according to the pattern showed to thee in the mount.*"<sup>2</sup> This he understands as meaning that in all its essential features the Levitical system of worship was a copy or adumbration of a higher heavenly reality. This principle might easily be carried to absurd lengths, as it was by the rabbis, whose notion was that there were in heaven original models of the tabernacle and of all its furniture, and that these originals were shown to Moses in the mount, somewhat as original pictures of famous artists, whereof copies are made by obscurer men, are shown to travellers in the picture-galleries of European cities. Like

<sup>1</sup> The best rendering of the words *κεφάλαιον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖς λεγομένοις* is that given by Dr. Field in *Otium Norvicense*, "Now to crown our present discourse"; also more recently by Mr. Rendall, "Now to crown what we are saying." As a curiosity in exposition, it may be mentioned that Hofmann puts a stop after *δέ*, and after *λεγομένοις* supplies *ἀρχιερεῖσιν*, and renders, "The principal matter or the sum is, that besides those called high priests we have," etc.

<sup>2</sup> Exod. xxv. 9, 40.

most rabbinical notions, this was a prosaic caricature of the truth implied in the word of God to Moses. Our author was too much of a poet and philosopher to be capable of such pedantry as to imagine that of every article of furniture in the Jewish tabernacle—snuffers, candlesticks, tables, altars—there was an eternal material pattern in heaven. But he did believe, and he here teaches, that the material tabernacle with all its appurtenances was an emblem of a spiritual, Divine, eternal sanctuary, shown to Moses in vision on the mount. Hence he describes the Levitical priests as those who serve that which is the pattern and shadow of the heavenlies, *viz.* the material, man-made tabernacle (ver. 5), and represents heaven itself as a sanctuary, the holy place *par excellence*, the true tabernacle which the Lord pitched, not man (ver. 2). In the same way he assumes that as there was a priesthood and a system of sacrifices in the religious establishment set up by Moses, so there must be a priest in the real heavenly sanctuary (ver. 1), and the man who fills that office there must have something to offer (ver. 3). A celestial Sanctuary, High Priest, and Sacrifice: such are the transcendent realities whereof the material tabernacle, and the Levitical priests, and sacrifices were the rude, shadowy copies.

It is worthy of note with what a firm, confident tone the writer asserts the superiority of the heavenly patterns over the earthly copies. The heavenly sanctuary is the true, genuine tabernacle, that which answers to the ideal (*ἀληθινῆς*<sup>1</sup>); the material man-made tabernacle, on the other hand, is but a rude sketch, or barely that, only such a dim, scarcely recognisable likeness as a shadow (*σκιᾶ*) supplies, of the fair spiritual sanctuary which, like Plato's republic, is to be found

<sup>1</sup> The word is used in the same sense in the fourth gospel; *e.g.* "I am the true vine" (*ἡ ἀμπελος ἡ ἀληθινή*). In this sense *ἀληθινός* is opposed to the vulgar reality which comes short of the ideal, while *ἀληθής* is opposed to the false or unreal in the common sense.



nowhere in this world, but only in the heavens. With this way of describing the things contrasted the Hebrew Christians of course would not sympathise. They would feel disposed to invert the terms, and apply the epithet "true" to the material structure, and the epithet shadowy to the spiritual one. Yet what, after all, are the essential constituents of a holy place? Not the boards and the veil, not stone and lime; but a God present in His grace, and a priest competent to transact for man with God, and a people drawing nigh to God through his mediation. Given these, your religious establishment is complete in all essential points. And these essentials are found in connexion with the celestial sanctuary more perfectly than they were in connexion with the old tabernacle in the wilderness.

Corresponding to the transcendent excellence of the heavenly sanctuary is the incomparable dignity of its priestly Minister. He is "such an High Priest as sat down on the right hand of the throne of the Majesty in the heavens." He is a royal Priest, who does not stand ministering like the sacerdotal drudges of the tribe of Levi (chap. x. 11), but while He ministers, interceding for men, sits in regal state.

On the principle that all the great religious realities are to be found in heaven, there also must be the true offering, or sacrifice. What is it? That is the question on which the writer specially desires his readers to exercise their thoughts. For them it is the hardest question. They might recognise that heaven could, by a certain latitude of speech, be called a sanctuary, and that the glorified Christ could be conceived of as in some vague sense a priest; but sacrifice in heaven! What has He to offer? Their teacher does his best to help them to master this abstruse point. First, he remarks that if Christ were on earth He would not even be a priest at all, there being those who offer gifts according to the law (ver. 4). This statement does not

mean that Christ while on earth was not a priest in any sense. The remark is meant for Hebrew ears, and is intended to provoke reflection on the question, What gift did the Priest of the new order offer? in the hope that readers slow to learn would at length get hold of the great idea (unfamiliar to them, though commonplace to us) first hinted in the close of the seventh chapter, and developed in the sequel, that Christ's offering was *Himself*. In catechetical form our author's meaning may be put thus: "Christ is a Priest, the true, high, highest, ideal Priest. He must therefore have something to offer; for the very duty of a priest is to offer gifts and sacrifices for sin. But what is it which He offers? It is not any such sacrifice as the Levitical priest offers, insomuch that were He on earth He could not be recognised as a priest at all. What then can it be? It cannot certainly be the blood of bulls and goats. The daily scenes of slaughter that took place before the door of the tabernacle were utterly out of place in the celestial sanctuary. You cannot imagine such sanguinary work going on up yonder. The sacrifice that is to make even heaven pure must be of a very different character. No shadows, no dim emblems, no rude, barbaric rites will do there. All must be real, spiritual, and of the highest kind, and in the highest measure of perfection. The priest that gets entry yonder must be more than officially holy, and his offering must be as holy as himself. Can you not guess what it is? It is *Himself*, offered without spot or stain of sin unto God, through the eternal Spirit of filial obedience and lowly love. That will do even for heaven." This, or something like it, is what the writer has in his mind; but he does not utter all his thought just yet. He is content for the present to throw out the remark, "This Man must have something to offer," and to leave his readers for a while to puzzle over the question, What can it be?

At no point in the epistle is it more needful to bear in

mind its apologetic character, and to realize the ignorance of its first readers as to the nature of Christianity, which made an elaborate apology necessary, than at the place which now engages our attention. If we assume that the Hebrew Christians were familiar with the doctrine that Christ was a Priest, and that by His death He made atonement for sin, it is difficult to understand what the writer could mean by the statement that He must have something to offer. It degenerates into a mere truism. Why, of course He had His own blood shed on the cross to present to God in heaven. Or are we to suppose the writer means something additional to that: such as intercessions for sinners, and presentation to God of the prayers and praises of His people? Assume, on the other hand, that the Hebrew Christians were ignorant of the great truth that in His death Christ offered Himself a sacrifice to God, and all becomes clear. The observation that Christ must have somewhat to offer gains point, and the added remark that if He were on earth He would not be a priest serves an important purpose. The former is no longer a theological commonplace, or dogmatic truism, but an apologetic device to force slow-witted men to think; and the latter is a friendly hint as to the direction in which the solution of the problem is to be found.

This Man must have somewhat to offer—what can it be? such was the puzzling question for the first readers of our epistle. The puzzle for modern readers and interpreters is different. The priestly ministry is in heaven; and yet the sacrifice the Priest presents there appears to be none other than that offering of Himself which He made once for all; an event, so far at least as the initial stage of it, the blood-shedding, is concerned, happening on earth, and within this visible world. This is the antinomy of which I have spoken more than once. For the final solution we must wait till we have come in the course of exposition to

the writer's fullest expression of his conception of Christ's sacrifice. Meantime it will suffice to hint that in his view "true" and "heavenly" are synonyms; whatever is "true" is heavenly, belongs to the upper world of realities, and whatever belongs to that upper world is true and real. If Christ's sacrifice of Himself be a true sacrifice, it belongs to the heavenly world, no matter where or when it takes place. Then, secondly, Christ's sacrifice is for him a true sacrifice, because it is an affair of spirit. Flesh and blood, whether of man or of beast, are of the earth, earthy, and belong to the realm of shadows. Even the blood of Christ, literally considered, can find no place in heaven; so that it is vain to distinguish between the first stage of the sacrifice, the death or blood-shedding, and the second, the sprinkling of the shed blood on the mercy-seat within the sanctuary, and to relegate the former to earth as something lying outside the sphere of Christ's proper priestly activity, and to locate the latter in heaven, regarding it as the point at which Christ's priestly ministry begins. Christ's sacrifice of Himself finds entrance into heaven only when blood is transmuted into spirit. In other words: the shedding of Christ's blood is a true sacrifice, as distinct from the shedding of the blood of bulls and goats, which was only a shadow of sacrifice, because it is the manifestation of a mind or spirit. And because it is that, it belongs to heaven, though it take place on earth. As in the Gospel of John the Son of man living on the earth is represented as claiming to be in heaven, so we may claim for the death of Christ, in virtue of the spirit it revealed, that it belongs to the heavenlies, though it took place on Mount Calvary. The magic phrase, "through an eternal spirit," lifts us above distinctions of time and place, and makes it possible for us to regard Christ's offering of Himself, in all its stages, as a transaction within the celestial sanctuary.

Leaving his readers for a while to their own meditations



on the question, What is it Christ had to offer? our author proceeds to show that the ministry of the "true tabernacle," whatever its precise nature, must needs be one of surpassing excellence. For this purpose he reverts to the idea of the "better covenant" introduced in the previous chapter (ver. 22), of which he declares Christ to be the "Mediator," that is, the agent by whom it is established, as he has already declared Him to be its "surety," that is, the agent by whom its stability is guaranteed. "But now," he argues, "hath He obtained a more excellent ministry by how much He is also Mediator of a better covenant, one which has been constituted upon better promises." From one occupying this position what may not be expected? Of the priestly service connected with the better covenant, based on better promises, too lofty ideas cannot be formed. Thus would the wise teacher entice backward pupils onward in the untrodden path that conducts to Christian enlightenment. Whether he was successful we know not. Not improbably he failed with his first readers because of the novelty of his thoughts, as he fails with us through their being too familiar. The "new covenant" is now a trite theme, and it requires an effort of historical imagination to conceive that at one time it was a great, spiritual, poetic thought: first for Jeremiah, whose prophetic soul gave birth to it; and then, ages after, for the author of our epistle, who utilized it in his grand apology for the Christian religion. In so doing he certainly showed his wonted skill. For Jeremiah's oracle of the new covenant, here quoted at length, serves excellently the purpose of the whole epistle, while it facilitates the exposition of the peculiar nature of Christ's priestly ministry. The oracle speaks of a *new* covenant, and is thus another Scripture text showing that a new order of things was contemplated even in long past ages, and that the old order was felt to be unsatisfactory. The oracle further represents the new, desiderated order

as a *covenant*, implying an analogy as well as a difference between the new and the old, and preparing us to expect, in connexion with the new not less than the old, a priestly ministry and sacrifice, serving a purpose analogous to that served by the Levitical system of worship, only serving it far more effectually.

After justifying the application of the epithet "better" to the new covenant by the remark that, if the first covenant had been faultless, no place would have been sought for a second (ver. 7), and by pointing out that the oracle of the new covenant is introduced with disparaging reflections on the old (vers. 8, 9), the writer quotes the oracle (with its preface) at length (vers. 8-12), and leaves it to speak for itself as to the quality of its promises which he had declared to be "better" than those of the old covenant. Read the oracle, he says in effect, and judge for yourselves. It would certainly have been satisfactory if he had so far treated his readers of all ages as children, as to think it necessary to give a succinct enumeration of the promises, that they might know on what he chiefly laid stress. Fortunately he returns to the subject farther on, and by a partial requotation lets us see what bulks most largely in his view (chap. x. 16-18). Two promises are covered by the second quotation: the writing of the law on the heart, and the everlasting oblivion of sin. One might have been quite sure, apart from any express indication, that our author had the last mentioned promise very specially in mind when he characterized the promises of the new covenant as "better"; for the very aim of his whole work is to show that Christ for the first time deals effectually with the defilement of sin, so that we can indeed draw near to God. But it is important to observe that remission of sin, while of great moment in his view, is not everything. He includes the writing of the law on the heart within the scope of Christ's work. He thinks of that as one of the ends to

be effected by Christ as the founder and guarantor of the new covenant. In other words, he conceives of Christ as the Sanctifier in the ethical or Pauline sense, as well as in the ritual or theocratic sense of putting men through forgiveness in right relations with God.

The new covenant might well be left to speak for itself as to the superior quality of its promises. Under the Sinaitic covenant God gave the people of Israel, through Moses as mediator, the Ten Commandments written on tables of stone, and promised to bless them if they kept these commandments, to be their God if they would be His people and do all the words of His law. He gave them, further, detailed instructions with reference to their religious duties, and provided a priestly caste to keep them right in point of ritual, a thing very necessary under so complicated a system. Finally, God promised to His people temporary forgiveness of sins of ignorance and infirmity, on condition of their offering certain specified sacrifices, at certain stated times, and in accordance with certain prescribed forms; cancelling, *e.g.*, the "ignorances" of a year in consideration of the sacrifices offered by the high priest on the great day of atonement. Benefits these not to be despised, but how poor compared with those of the new covenant! Instead of a law written on tables of stone, and deposited in the ark, was to be a law written on the *heart*, and deposited in the safe custody of a renewed mind. And there is no "if" in the promise of the covenanting God. It is absolute, and runs: "I will be their God, and they shall be My people." Then, instead of instruction in the details of a cumbrous ceremonial system by the priest, or by any neighbour who happened to be better informed, there is to be intuitive, first-hand knowledge of God, of His will, and of His heart possessed by all, accessible to laymen as well as to priests, to the poor as well as to the rich, to the least as well as to the greatest, to the illiterate as well as to

the learned—the knowledge being of a kind not dependent on talent, status, or profession, but simply on moral disposition, the common possession of all the pure in heart. Finally, there is promised under the new covenant, not a temporary—say, annual—forgiveness of sins of a minor and artificial character, but forgiveness free, full, everlasting, of all sins, however heinous. “I will be merciful to their unrighteousness, and their sins and their iniquities I will remember no more”; words which in the mouth of a prophet meant something more serious than the pardoning of petty offences against a religious ritual.

The new, reformed covenant is evidently constructed on the principle of avoiding the defects of the old one. The oracle announcing it is in one aspect just a criticism of the Sinaitic covenant. When prophets thus boldly criticise the constitution of their nation, change more or less revolutionary may be looked for. The first item in the reform programme, the law written on the heart, may indeed appear a poet's dream, to be relegated to the realm of Eutopia. No fault is found at this point with the old law in itself. The law referred to is the Decalogue, as we gather from the implied contrast between writing on the heart and writing on stone tablets. It was this law above all that the people of Israel broke when they provoked God to disregard His covenant, and send them into exile. They were banished to Babylon, not for neglecting religious ritual, but for neglecting the great duties of righteousness, which it was the glory of the prophets to preach. This law in itself was good, and accordingly in this case the old covenant is blamed merely for not providing that the law should be kept. The complaint may seem unreasonable, but there can be no doubt that a law which not only told men what to do, but insured compliance with its own precepts would be a great boon.

The second item in the programme points not merely



to a new method of enforcing old laws, but to abrogation. The dependence of each man upon his neighbour for the knowledge of God's will arose out of the fact that under the ancient covenant the people of Israel were subject to a vast body of *positive* precepts, which had no reason except that God was pleased to enjoin them. Even under that covenant the moral law was to a certain extent written on the heart. But the heart, or the conscience, could give no guidance in reference to religious ritual or ceremonial purity. In such matters men had to seek the law at the priest's mouth. Yet ignorance might have serious consequences. Exact knowledge of God was at once necessary and difficult. It was so difficult, that the rise of a class like the scribes, whose business it was to interpret the law, became inevitable; it was so necessary, that a man could not be legally righteous without a minute acquaintance with the contents of the statute book, there being innumerable offences which were not sins against the Decalogue, but only against ceremonial precepts, having penalties attaching to them. This it was which made the legal yoke grievous. It was not enough to be a good man; you must likewise, as touching the positive precepts of the law, be blameless. And it was so difficult to be this, that one might know God essentially very well, even as a prophet knew Him, and yet be in Divine things an *ignoramus* from the point of view of the priestly code. For this abrogation was the only remedy. Sweep away the cumbrous and vexatious system of positive precepts, and let the things needful to be known in order to acceptable acquaintance with God be reduced to a few great moral and spiritual truths comprehensible by all, without aid of priest, scribe, rabbi, or village schoolmaster, the all-sufficient organ of knowledge being a pure heart. This was one of the boons to be brought in by the days that were coming, the "time of reformation," the era of the "new covenant."

Another was the abolition of the Levitical priesthood, and the system of worship with which it was connected. For this is what is pointed at in the third complaint virtually brought against the old covenant, that it did not deal effectually with the problem of sin. This is the most serious charge, as it is the one which the author of our epistle is most concerned to emphasise. It was well founded. The Levitical system might, without any breach of charity, be characterized as trifling with the great question, How can human sin be pardoned, and the sinner brought near to God? It dealt really only, or at least for the most part, with artificial sins, arising out of ignorance of the ritual law, and its tendency was to divorce religion from morality. A man might be ritually right who was morally wrong, and morally right who was ritually wrong. Perhaps this was not of what Jeremiah was thinking when he wrote, "I will forgive their iniquity, and their sin will I remember no more." But an implied censure on the old religion is what our author finds in the words. For him they contain the promise of a boon which it was not in the power of that religion to confer; therefore by inference an intimation that it must and shall pass away, and give place to a better religion that shall effectually provide for the pardon of sin and the establishment of peace between man and God. He does not interpret the prophecy as pointing to the total abolition of priests and sacrifices; he finds in it rather the promise of a *better* priest and a *better* sacrifice. That is for him *the* promise of the new covenant, the fulfilment of which brings along with it the fulfilment of the other two. Give us only the true Priest and the true Sacrifice, then ritual worship becomes useless, and a simple worship of the living God takes its place, and obedience is made easy by law being transmuted into love.

How fully the revolutionary character of Jeremiah's oracle of the new covenant was present to our author's

mind appears from the remark which he appends to the quotation from the prophet. "In that he saith new he hath made old the first" (ver. 13). He regards the mere use of the ominous word "new" as implying that even in the prophet's time the Sinaitic covenant was in a decadent, dying condition. It was a notice to the old order of things, and to the Levitical priesthood in particular, to set its house in order, for that ere long it must die. The obvious moral is pointed still more plainly for the benefit of Hebrew readers by the added reflection: "That which is becoming antiquated and getting old is nigh unto vanishing away."

This is a reflection fitted to show the folly of insisting on perpetuating that which bears all the symptoms of being doomed to disappear. Why fight against the inevitable law, that what is old must die? "Think of this, ye Hebrew Christians who cling to Levitical ordinances! The ancient covenant with all that belongs to it is old. The high priest's head is white with age; his limbs totter from very feebleness; the boards of the tabernacle are rotten; the veil of the sanctuary is moth-eaten. Everything portends approaching dissolution. Let it die then, and receive from devout men decent burial. Say you, 'Ah! but the old covenant is so venerable!' Venerable indeed, but so is your ancient sire who has seen more than eighty summers. You do not wish him to die; you will be thankful to have him with you yet another year. But you will not be surprised should the event be otherwise. You would not even greatly grieve, for you know that that which decayeth and waxeth old is ready to vanish away. And when the spirit of the aged one has fled to its eternal rest, you are pensive rather than sorrowful. You do not so much mourn a loss which could not be averted as muse on the certainty of death, and the mutability of man's earthly state, and count your own days, and resolve anew to apply your heart to wisdom. Even so would I have you act in regard to old

and decadent religious institutions : not shutting your eyes to the white hairs and tottering steps, not fanatically striving to endow the venerable with immortality, not embalming that which is already dead, but letting that which is old die in peace, and when dead burying it reverently in the dust ; remembering for your comfort that, though the body dies, the spirit lives for ever, that when the old passes away something new and better takes its place. It is sad to lose such a one as Simeon the just and devout ; but why mourn for him when a *Christ* is born ? ”

Wise counsel, and accepted by all as such in reference to revolutions lying behind them in past history. Good counsel, we think, for the Hebrew Christians, and for the men of the sixteenth century when Luther introduced his reforms. The difficulty is to accept and act on the counsel in connexion with changes impending or now going on. Then the voice of wisdom is by many mistaken for blasphemy. “ Abolish the Sinaitic covenant, and the law, and the priesthood—what an impious outrage ! ” It is this that makes the prophet ever a heavy-hearted man. He sees so clearly to be a duty what to other men appears a crime.

A. B. BRUCE.

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### HEREDITY AND ITS EVANGELICAL ANALOGIES.

(ROM. v. 15-19 ; 1 COR. xv. 21, 22, 45-49.)

THE offence of the ancestor involves the race in disability, condemnation and temporal death. The obedience of One lifts the race with which He becomes incorporated as its Head and Representative, to strength, acceptance, and eternal life. What is that but the great scientific law of heredity reaching out into the sphere of the unseen, and forming a momentous factor in man's relation with his Maker and his



Judge? The sin of one darkens the lot of all to the end of time. The sacrificial righteousness of One effaces the shadow, and brings possible blessedness into the lot of all.

Not infrequently the man of science gives to the religious thinker an analogy that becomes fruitful and instructive in its application to spiritual things. In the passages at the head of this paper the religious thinker anticipates the man of science, and shows that in the moral government of God there is a foreshadowing of those mysterious laws of heredity which the biologist is now tracing out in the social development of the race. The Jew had some perception of the momentous bearing of this influential law. It is more than hinted in the story of the fall. Jewish exclusiveness grew up in part out of a vague apprehension of the truth that intellectual and moral aptitudes are prone to run in the blood. All castes, whether royal or priestly or industrial, are based on the belief that qualities of skill and disposition are inheritable both for good and for evil. Indeed, it seems not unlikely that the insects which divide themselves into castes have some faint gleam of this law, or, at least, the ancestors whose traditions they obey had. The Jew expected that the worst things in this entail of evil could be cut off by a strict principle of tribal selection, taking for its starting point blood-relationship to Abraham. St. Paul, who had been trained in the strictest caste prejudices, and who had thought of this subject in many lights, had come to see that the entail must be cut off by conjunction to a new and spiritual Head of humanity. The law of heredity in its evangelical aspects and applications is the theme of these striking verses.

The intellect of the present century is in revolt against the old gospel doctrines of original sin and redemption by the vicarious sacrifice of Jesus Christ. Is it not strange that the same century should have emphasised again and again this natural law, which contains in germ every

principle involved in these old-fashioned doctrines, and yet, at the same time, be blind to the evangelical analogy involved in this law? The argument, of course, will be wasted on the man who declares that nature is immoral, and that there can be no righteous and guiding will behind its anarchic struggle. But for the man who believes the God of nature, the analogy must be accepted as a stepping-stone towards faith.

Original sin! Vicarious atonement!—Fantastic inventions of man's diseased conscience and imagination, you are ready to say: doctrines that should be preached only to the rudest and gloomiest and least enlightened sections of the human race! The very expressions traverse all our intuitions of right. Monstrous teaching, that we should be handicapped by the sin of one primitive man, from whom we chance to be descended, in all our after destiny! An evangel of sheer extravagance, that can only be demoralizing in its issues, to assert that we shall be set free from punishment through the vicarious pain of some holy Jew, from whom we are not even descended, but who is supposed to incorporate Himself with us and fulfil the function of a compensating spiritual ancestorship to our degenerate natures.

By the analogy of this indisputable law of heredity we vindicate every principle assumed in rational definitions of the doctrines of original sin and vicarious sacrifice. However mysterious the process by which the experience of the first individual of a species is passed on to all the members of the species, whether by some mark left upon a nerve, a quality infused into the blood, a force that hides itself in some secret cell, or by channels that are beyond the power of the senses to trace, and are to that extent immaterial, the fact is beyond dispute. In all circles of life, for weal or for woe, experience is handed on from sire to offspring, and exerts its influence generation after generation.

Go to the student of animal life, and ask him, "What

is instinct?" and he replies, "Stored up knowledge, acquired by experience and observation; knowledge that has been transmitted into habit, and passed on from generation to generation." It is the inheritance which the ancestor of a species leaves to its descendants, and the foundation of the habit is laid by the act of the ancestor. That act determines the life and destiny of the untold individuals who make up the species. The tastes and passions of wolves and tigers and hyænas were acquired in the primeval struggle for life, and passed with the blood into all the after progeny. The industrial instincts of ants and bees took their rise in the foresight and activity of some far-off patriarch of the different groups of families, who may have felt the pinch of famine, and came to comprehend, like Joseph in Egypt, how the emergencies of the future could be provided against. By laws unknown to himself, and equally unknown to us, he managed to leave these thrifty and provident habits as an inheritance to his children's children. His sagacity communicated itself to all his after generations. By his one act many became industrious and provident. You take, as a further illustration, the locusts that deposit their eggs on the eastern slopes of the Rocky Mountains. If there had never been left to them, by way of an inheritance, the cue to a more luxurious kind of life, they would have had a starved-out kind of existence, and could never have multiplied into a formidable host. Some Columbus, in the early history of the family, guessed that, by sailing on the north-west wind when it began to blow, more luxurious pastures might be found than at home. So it spread its wings, and found wonderful harvests of green awaiting it on the plains to the east. The act influenced its progeny. A sense of the advantage of this periodic migration passed into the eggs from which the descendants emerged, and every three or four years the creatures come to some parts of America in numbers

sufficient to clear three or four hundred miles of cornfields. By the one act of some discerning patriarch of the family the secret of life was impressed upon hundreds of millions.

The nightingale that has been reared from the egg, and that has never heard the song of the parent bird, will utter the plaintive melodies of the soft June nights untaught. The secret of the music has been handed down by mysterious channels from the first great singer of the race. The keynote was struck far centuries back, and by the one song the long line of life has been made melodious. Turn for another illustration of the principle to the shepherd dog. Some discerning progenitor of the family had interpreted the wish of the shepherd, and acquired the knack of running round the flock and bringing the scattered sheep to a common centre. The aptitude was transmitted to its descendants, and the exploit became a family accomplishment that could not be taught outside the limits of the breed. No poodle or King Charles could be taught the work. The one act ruled the race. The same too with the setter. Some shrewd sire of the breed got the idea that his master wished him to act as a game-signal. In unknown ways the trick communicated itself with the blood to its descendants; and now a dog of the breed, untaught and reared away from its parents, will report the whereabouts of game by its attitude as clearly as the quartermaster on the bridge of the ship will report a sail. By what at the outset was a single perception and a single act of the ancestor, all generations acquire the capacity of rendering a useful service to mankind. A physician of antiquity proved that a new-born kid will at once select milk from a number of jars containing oil, flour, honey, and milk respectively. The tastes of its ancestry were infixed within its organization. Antipathies transmit themselves in just the same way. A careful observer tells us that one day, after fondling his dog, he put his hand into a basket



containing four kittens whose eyes were not yet open. As soon as they perceived the scent of the dog, they at once began to puff and to spit. The antipathy of ancestors had transmitted itself. Whatever the brute may *become*, it starts life as the sum of the acts and habits of its progenitors.

And when we come to the study of man, we find the same law obviously at work in his genealogical history. Peculiarities of structure tend to run in families. Families are not unknown in which there is a tendency to abnormal developments, such as six fingers. Nervous habits propagate themselves in families. Mr. Darwin uses as one of his illustrations the case of a French family, all the members of which, for three generations, had the habit of raising the hand in sleep and letting it fall across the bridge of the nose. Lord Brougham's handwriting presented most curious resemblances to his grandfather's, although he had never seen his grandfather's handwriting till his own style was formed. Artistic capacities and incapacities run in the blood. Birmingham artisans possess a deftness of touch and a delicacy of manipulation\* that are quite unrivalled, from the fact that mechanical avocations have been cultivated and followed for several generations. By the first triumphant acts of mechanical skill in their forefathers it is easy for them to become workmen of first-class dexterity. There are towns in Italy in which taste is hereditary, and you cannot transplant their industries without transplanting their peoples. Some of the exquisite industries of the East owe their perfection to the fact that they have been the monopolies from time immemorial of particular castes. Fighting qualities are developed within certain families and nations. A mysterious quality of blood comes in to fit them for the field, just as much as training and tradition. Moral acts moreover leave a very much deeper impression on the life than mental and muscular acts, and the deeper the impression, the higher the probability that the tendency

created by the act will imprint itself on the offspring. We know only too well how vices run in the blood. The tendency to drink, to riot and violence, to gambling, to improvidence, runs like a magnetic current from the pole of hell in the veins of some families. The grandchild of a drunkard, who has been trained to the strictest temperance, will sometimes have become a drunkard before any one suspects it. The other day a man was begging at my door who was neither gambler nor drunkard, but in whom thriftless and lazy habits were hereditary. His mother had been before the magistrates more than twenty times for begging.

And so persistent is this law, that there is something of evil in every one of us that has come down from the first man. Consequences of his act and habit descend into our century, and imprint themselves upon us. Broad characteristics of structure we owe to the first ancestor, and, in a limited degree, the general outlines of our uncomely and ill-balanced moral natures run back to the same source. And if we inherit for evil, which is simply a modernised statement of the old doctrine of original sin, is it not likely that some hidden wellspring of purity and Divine inspiration will be opened to us, from which we may inherit for good, which is simply another form of the doctrine of Christ's vicarious ministry of grace? We know that the ancestry of wrong has imprinted itself upon our dispositions and sympathies and experiences. We feel its shadow every day in a thousand ways. And are we not dimly conscious of some benign moral power that is working to over-ride the disastrous tendency that is a part of our very nature, and that is fulfilling to us what I may perhaps call an ancestry of right and renewal and salvation?

But some objector will be ready with the reply: "This, after all, is not the question in dispute. If the theologians meant by the old doctrine of original sin simply the scientific law of heredity, or even that law applied to the philo-

sophy of man's moral relations, there would be little room for controversy. We are prepared to admit that moral and immoral qualities may pass in the blood from sire to son. The law is a mystery to us, and not easy to reconcile with our ideas of right and moral liberty. It is there, and if we admit that intelligence presides over the facts of the universe, it must be there by the permission of the Supreme, and we have nothing to say. But the one thing against which we do protest is this idea of the old theologies, that the guilty status of the first transgressor, with all its essential privations and penalties, should come down to the latest generations, and attach to the little child on its mother's breast. That is a theological echo of the Jew's cruel cry for vengeance, 'Happy shall he be that dasheth thy little ones against a stone.' It is an affront to every principle of equity to assume that the race was doomed to even temporary disfranchisement and death by the sin of its first representative."

Do not let us travel quite so fast, and overrun the argument. Can we separate the two things, the transmission of this bias to evil, and that unhappy status before God and the universe which the theologian calls "guilt"? If the inclination to evil is inherited, disfavour and condemnation must be inherited as an environment likewise from the beginning. To revert to the lower realms of life for an illustration. The good or bad quality acquired by the progenitor of a species affects all the after fortunes of the race. When some discerning ant perceived the havoc to ant-life wrought by overflowing rivers, and led its comrades up a tree trunk to build a nest beyond the reach of the flood, did it not by that one act, which became the foundation of an instinct, save the uncounted swarms of its after descendants? If some ant was too busy in a forsaken honeycomb to heed that counsel of safety, or too wickedly lazy to follow this new departure, would it not by the one

act, which left its many descendants destitute of the leadings of this wise instinct, doom them to death by flood in uncounted numbers? In the one movement of the ancestor the species was practically saved or lost. I believe there is a law which forbids the keeping or breeding of blood-hounds in England. A man might argue it was unjust to predestinate innocent pups to death. They can scarcely be held responsible for the murderous doings of their ancestors, and made a breed of outlaws. But the hereditary law is so sure, that the character or status of the ancestor descends along with the unfailing bias. The dog of the shepherd or the sportsman owes its place by the fireside of the cottage, or in the warm, clean-swept, well-provisioned kennel, and its position as the companion of a fond master, to the one discerning act of the ancestor. But for that act, which originated habit and cradled instinct, the species would have been doomed to the pariah life of the streets, or the precarious and ever-threatened life of the jungle and the forest. The one act of the original representative of the family determined to no small degree the fate of the individuals comprising the breed. The chick that first came to understand the danger-cluck of the hen that was watching over it, and unconsciously imprinted its intelligence upon its offspring, saved from the clutch of hawk or teeth of fox countless broods of successors. Whole species may be saved or lost by the acts of ancestors. The many are made obedient by the act of one, and live; or disobedient, and perish. Critical junctures of this sort occur in the life of every species.

And this is true, with certain limitations, in the realm of human life and morals. A little more than a century back, a profligate woman of the name of Jukes lived in Massachusetts. Five generations, numbering in all about five hundred souls, have since sprung from that woman. More than half of them have passed through the prisons



of the United States, or have lived lives of open debauchery. A woman was once in the Glasgow gaol, to whom fifty thieves and dissolute females now trace their descent. You would never take a cashier for your shop or office with such a pedigree. Would you allow any of your children to marry into the Jukes family, however respectable in outward appearance, and however prosperous in worldly matters the particular representative of the family might have become? You would rather bury them. You know what the law of heredity means. It prejudices the outward status, as well as gives a warped bias to the soul. Where no personal crime has developed itself for the time being upon the surface of the life, you feel quite justified in attaching disabilities to the known pre-inclination. In so far as it is necessary to protect the well-being of your business and the purity of your family life, you disfranchise and ban and condemn. You believe in original sin in a yet harsher and more rigorous way even than the old theologies. Is not a man's status before God touched by this law of hereditary evil, before even the evil develops itself into actual transgression? God concluded all under sin, but for a higher motive than that of the man who seeks to guard his family or business interests,—“that He might have mercy upon all.” By one transgression many become sinners.

Inherited frailty and proneness to wrong exist where the face of the life seems wholesome and sound. The predisposition imprinted upon us may only betray itself under critical temptations. A naturalist tells us he once placed some newly hatched chickens upon a piece of smooth carpet, and kept them there for several days. They discovered no such propensity to scratch the ground for food as is characteristic of their kind. At last he sprinkled a little gravel on the carpet. The gravel supplied the necessary stimulus, and they began to scratch at once. There is many a tendency to evil that needs the outward stimulus

to bring it into view. Many a bad temper sleeps whilst the primrose path of courtship lasts, and breaks out when the worries of family life begin to tell, and clumsy hands break the choice bits of glass or china. Many a villainous crook of the conscience sleeps so long as prosperity lasts, but uncoils itself to view when prosperity has gone, and ways and means of keeping up appearances have to be devised. The hidden taint does not present itself to your sense or mine; but it is there, and God sees it, and has to reckon with the ugly factor. More than that, God foresees the inbred evil in association with the after expression to which it is leaning. In the sin of Adam the race was condemned, although not hopelessly. God would not have been omniscient if He had left it unbranded. The race was representatively condemned, as a sign of the solemn truth that we are all members of a species, and related the one to the other by most awful ties. And the race was likewise provisionally saved in the one sacrifice of Jesus Christ. The preaching of the gospel and the ministry of the Church are to quicken those possibilities of a better moral life that we receive from Christ. The old evangelical theology, with its corner-stones of representation for evil, wrath, and death in Adam, and representation for grace, justification, and life in Christ, is vindicated by the analogy of this scientific law, at least for the man who believes in design, and looks upon the law of heredity as sealed with the authority of God.

And now we can advance another step in the argument. If a man inherit wrath, disability, condemnation through his relation to another, shall he not be free to inherit help, favour, and everlasting life? Shall these laws of heredity be tracks by which chartered curses shall be free to travel, and shall they not be open likewise for the winged benedictions that are to visit man from the presence of his God and Saviour? The argument admits of a yet stronger statement. Not only is the abstract principle of vicarious-

ness justified by the analogies of this great natural law, but the vicarious sacrifice and ministry are necessary to equalize and readjust the derangements growing up out of the law of heredity. God's government is full of compensatory forces and agencies and principles. If evil is transmissible, and not good, no wonder men should cry out against the Most High, and at last part with belief in His existence as gladly as they shake off nightmares. There is nothing one-sided in either the natural or moral government of God. The work of the Second Adam comes in to restore the balance of moral forces disturbed in the fall of the first. When we limit our view to the field of nature, and see how many around us are handicapped in the race of life, and are called to bear in their vitiated organizations the sins of long lines of evil ancestors; and when we at the same time forget the unseen compensations that come down to them from the grace of Jesus Christ, no wonder we cry out against the old theological conception of life and responsibility. We can only keep our faith in God by recognising the second stronger Head and Representative of the race, Jesus Christ. The sin of Adam is more than outweighed in its influence over us by the righteousness of Jesus Christ. The new pulse of life from the cross is mightier than the tide of tainted life that comes to us from the foot of the forbidden tree. The transfusion of grace prevails over that of corruption. "Where sin abounds, grace does much more abound."

An ordinary watch will not keep time when subjected to great variations of temperature. Under the influence of extreme heat or cold its parts contract and expand. The watchmaker, in preparing a watch that will keep time in all latitudes, puts together a compensating balance. He makes the balance wheel of two different metals, that lie side by side with each other. Under a high temperature one metal contracts and the other expands, and the process is reversed under cold. In this way the balance is preserved, and

the watch runs under all vicissitudes. So is it in the mechanism of man's moral nature. Whilst the influence of Adam's act and personality is present in us, that of Christ is present likewise, and the integrity of our responsibility is thus maintained.

It is sometimes argued that man is the irresponsible product of his surroundings. The influence of inherited evil is so emphasised, that the idea of accountability to God is made to look very much like an extravagance. The momentum of the inbred tendency to wrong is contemplated with such exclusive attention, that the man's own part in contributing to the sum of character, as well as the part of the unseen Christ, are entirely forgotten. Let it never be forgotten that we inherit a great deal more good than evil, that all things are created in Christ, that the capacity for righteousness transcends the innate temptation to falsehood and guile, and that to the unholy bias in every life there is an offset of latent grace and benediction. If we are prepared to recognise our relation to Christ, and to righteousness, and to be led by the Spirit, we shall abundantly prove that. Not to speak of these Bible records of Adam and Christ, we know well enough that in every life there are wonderful moral compensations. The incarnation and the cross wield an unknown dominion over us, which more than emancipates from the despotisms of passions that had their birth in the taste of the forbidden fruit. The conditions of individual responsibility are reasserted, and the proverb no longer holds, "The fathers have eaten sour grapes, and the children's teeth are set on edge."

The influences that come to us from these great primal relations follow the analogy of hereditary instincts in some other particulars. A disused instinct dies out. If ducklings are kept away from water for a time, they will show as much antipathy to it as cats. Chickens kept away from the hen for eight days will lose the instinct that once



taught them to respond to her call. Domesticated cattle will devour to their destruction poisonous herbs that wild cattle will avoid. There are plastic crises in our lives at which our inherited tendencies may be changed and extirpated. The bias to wrong may be removed, but the leaning to right may also be effaced. It is for us to choose from these tendencies that come to us by way of inheritance, and to build them up into the solemn permanencies of our immortality.

But some one may be ready to protest that this conception of the relation of each member of the race to Adam and to Christ is vague and incapable of common-sense proof. If Adam is not a myth, we at least know very little about him. Christ also looms through an atmosphere of dim tradition. I reply, the influence of these relationships is a question of experience, rather than history. Not a few men around us find an inexplicable and all but quenchless thirst for drink in their veins. They do not need to have the oil painting of some tippling old ancestor in the house, and a full biography of him in the family archives. The hereditary crave proves that the tippling ancestor is no myth, although mythical stories may still be told about him in the village. A man finds himself the slave of a querulous and captious temper that almost passes into insanity. But the picture of some ancestral bully or swashbuckler does not necessarily rise before him with every outbreak of temper. A man may find himself prone to an animal life in some special degree by the self-indulgence of a great-grandfather whose history and exploits have been a forbidden topic in the family. Experience proves the taint, and you need no separate biography as evidence.

And we may have a great deal of the fleshly nature within us, without having any very distinct picture of the Garden of Eden Adam, who helped to taint us by his first transgression. And the converse truth is equally sound. We

may receive light and favour and holy incitement from Jesus Christ, without having any very clear intellectual conception of His character and personality, or any very realistic vision of His history. Christianity is not what Mrs. Humphrey Ward and Professor Huxley assert, purely a question of the worth of historic testimony. It is a question of personal experience. The saving merit and hallowing influence and succour of our Lord are verified for us by the springs of pure and upright and godly inspiration that strangely rise unbidden within us and change our life. Our comprehension of the source of inheritance may be defective. But for all that we have the double inheritance, and Adam and Christ sway us more effectually than we know.

But it may be asked, How can Adam and Christ be fairly coupled in this comparison? There can be no outward and organic relation to Christ, for we are not His children according to the flesh. To this question, which is as old as Nicodemus, I reply, We are not sure that hereditary taints of character come through the channels of a man's physical life, though we describe them as planted in the blood or woven into the tissues of the brain. The two relations are equally mysterious. Christ can unite Himself as effectually to us by the Spirit, and as thoroughly remove our inbred evil, as though He gave to our flesh and blood a new earthly parentage. Nor is it necessary that Christ's life should be materialized in the eucharistic elements and incorporated for the removal of the old Adam by a sacramental miracle. The wonder-working Spirit can come to us without a visible vehicle. Our relation to the first Adam is by the flesh ; our relation to the second Adam by the Spirit. But the second type of relation, if less sensible in its mode, may be just as real as the first. We are made clean by the word which grafts us into Christ.

T. G. SELBY.

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS ON MY HEBREW  
NEW TESTAMENT.

IV.

I INSIST upon the use of the article, on account of the abundant materials which this chapter supplies for information in syntax and style.

1. One of the chief faults of the Hebrew New Testament of the London Society is the frequency of **הַתֵּבֶל** (the terrestrial world) with the article. In biblical Hebrew this substantive never has the article. It is an ancient word, belonging to a stage of language in which the article, abbreviated from an ancient demonstrative pronoun, was not yet coined, and therefore beloved by the higher style, which delights in archaisms.<sup>1</sup> Salkinson has, Acts xvii. 13, correctly **לִשְׁפֹּטֵיבוּ תֵבֶל**, where the London translation **אֶת־הַתֵּבֶל**. I have avoided this fault at the very beginning of my work of translation.

2. A very bad fault of the London translation is **לְאֱלֹהִים** and **בְּאֱלֹהִים**, where the only true God is meant (*e.g.* Acts xx. 25 and John iv. 15, 16). The word, thus vocalized, signifies the gods of the heathen: Psalm lxxxvi. 8, “Among the gods (**בְּאֱלֹהִים**) there is none like unto Thee”; and Exodus xxii. 19 (20), “He that sacrifices to the gods” (**לְאֱלֹהִים**). On the contrary, the Hebrew equivalent of  $\tau\omega$  Θεῷ is everywhere **לְאֱלֹהִים**, and of  $\epsilon\nu$   $\tau\omega$  Θεῷ **בְּאֱלֹהִים**. Fuerst’s Concordance places Jonah iii. 5 and Psalm cviii. 14 (13) under **בְּאֱלֹהִים**; but that is a pitiful, misleading error.

3. In both translations, Salkinson’s as well as my own,  $\tau\omicron$   $\sigma\upsilon\nu\acute{\epsilon}\delta\rho\iota\omicron\nu$  of the New Testament has been rendered by **הַסִּנְהֶדְרִין**; but the lawfulness of the determination by the article is questionable. The ancient Jewish idiom was wont

<sup>1</sup> Similar is **תְּהוֹם**, which in biblical Hebrew never has the ה of article, but assumes it (prepared by Jes. lxiii. 13, Ps. cvi. 9) in the postbiblical Hebrew.

to say סנהדרין without article, just as the English sometimes say "Parliament," and not "the Parliament." There will scarcely be found any passage deviating from this usage of language. We meet often with the distinction of גדולה (the great council) and קטנה (the little council), as for instance in the beginning of the treatise *Sanhedrin*, and with sentences as סנהדרין היתה כחצי גרן "the council was like the semicircle of a barnfloor" (*Sanhedrin* 36<sup>b</sup>) and סנהדרין באין בצד המזבח, "the members of the council entered on the side of the altar" (*Mechilta*, end of the section *Jithro*). Sometimes it is written סנהדר, without Nun, either in consequence of nonchalant pronunciation or by abbreviation of writing (*Sanhedrin* 3<sup>b</sup> and elsewhere; *Midrash Levit.* c. 19 end). In the Palestinian Targumim even a shorter form without interior aspiration occurs, which J. Levy erroneously punctuates סנהדר, instead of סנהדר (plur. סנהדריתא). The word in all these forms is without article, like a proper name, as determinate in itself, and there is no reason for adding the article in the Hebrew New Testament, except, as it seems, in the translation of δλον (πάν) τὸ συνέδριον, though even there כל סנהדרין (כל הסנהדרין) would be inoffensive and more consequent. The plural τὰ συνέδρια is to be found in the New Testament only twice. The Hebrew plural is סנהדריות (at the beginning of the Mishna *Sanhedrin*) or סנהדראות (*Talkut Levit.* § 619, *Midrash Cant.* iii. 7); likewise as the singular without article, which also in those two passages (Matt. x. 17, Mark xiii. 9) is omitted, because councils in general are intended.

4. The Hebrew word for synagogue is סנהדר (with the Zere of the first syllable (comp. the Aramaic סנהדרתא with Chirek in the first); mostly where not the congregation *per se*, but with relation to the edifice, is aimed at, בית (house) is put before. One says for a synagogue בית כנסת, and for the synagogue בית הכנסת. But which is the correct expression in the plural? The plural συναγωγαί, mostly with the



article *ai συναγωγαί*, occurs twenty-four times in the New Testament. The first passage is Matthew iv. 23, "teaching in *their* synagogues," where Salkinson has **וילמד שם בבתי הכנסת**. He omits (likewise as *ib.* ix. 35, x. 17, Mark i. 39, Luke iv. 15) the genitive *αὐτῶν* (of the Jews or of his countrymen), and his **בתי הכנסת** is by no means idiomatically Jewish. A plurality of synagogues is, as far as I know, throughout in Talmud and Midrash expressed either by **בְּנִסְיוֹת** (Aram. **בְּנִישְׁתָּא**, e.g. *jer Schekalim*, c. 5, **כְּנִישְׁתָּא דְּלִידָא**, the synagogues of Lydda) or (and that is the common use) by the double plural **בְּתֵי בְּנִסְיוֹת**. Therefore I have in those five passages translated **בבתי כנסיותיהם**. More idiomatical would be **בכנסיותיהם**, without **בבתי**, just as *ἀρχισυναγωγαί* were called **ראשי כנסיות**, or even more idiomatical **בתי כנסיות של עמי**, as in *Aboth* iii. 14, **בתי כנסיות של עמי הארץ**, that is, meeting houses of common people. Salkinson has throughout avoided the plural **כנסיות** as too rabbinical, as if the singular **כנסת** were not also post-biblical Hebrew; his **בתי הכנסת** is invented by himself and unknown in the Jewish literature. But also **בתי הכנסיות** (with article like **בתי הבמות**, 2 Kings xxiii. 19) is, according to my knowledge of the literature of Talmud and Midrash, without support and precedent. In the singular one says in case of exigency not less correctly **בית הכנסת** as **בית כנסת**, while the plural **בתי כנסיות** refuses the article even where it is required logically; e.g. **בתי כנסיות שבבל**, the synagogues in Babylon (*Megilla* 28<sup>b</sup>); **מכריזין בבתי כנסיות**, proclaiming in the synagogues (*Baba mezia* 28<sup>b</sup>). Hence it is commendable to render *ai συναγωγαί* of the New Testament always by **בתי כנסיות** as determinate in itself. Usage is a tyrant and has its unalterable caprices.

5. In another case the article is not to be rejected. In three passages of the Revelation (i. 8, xxi. 6, xxii. 13) our Lord says, "I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end." The Received Version reads the names of the two

letters without article, whereas the Revised Version substitutes, "I am the Alpha and the Omega," according to the Greek original. Quite in the same manner differ the two Hebrew New Testaments: Salkinson has **אני אלף והתו**, and I myself with articles, **אני האלף והתו**. Without doubt Salkinson has designedly struck out the article, which he found in my version. And indeed the usage of grammar and grammatical exegesis deals with the names of letters as proper names, which do not require external determination. But the language of Talmud and Midrash supplies the names of letters with the article wherever the matter requires or recommends it, not only where the letters are personified in a Haggadic manner, *e.g.* **האלף קורא תגר לפני**, *e.g.* "the Aleph raised quarrel before the Holy One" (because of the beginning of the Torah with a Beth and not with an Aleph): *Gen. rabba*, chap. i., fol. 4<sup>a</sup>, but also where personification does not take place; *e.g.* **נחלק היוד לשנים ה' לאברהם ה' לשרה**, "the Jod (sign for ten) was divided in halves, one He (sign for five) was given to Abraham, one to Sarah": *Num. rabba* chap. xviii. And even the grammarians do not hesitate to prefix the article, *e.g.* **האלף שבא נח נעלם**, the Aleph where it is quiescent (Abenezra, *Zachoth* 12<sup>a</sup>); and likewise the old commentators, as *e.g.* the author of the commentary *Lekach tob* to Genesis vi. 9, who remarks, that **היתהלך** must be written with three points (Segol) under **הלמר**. Hence it follows that Salkinson's scruple about my translation **אני האלף והתו** falls to the ground. The names of the two letters are there emblems of definite ideas, and resist the omission of the article.

FRANZ DELITZSCH.

## THE APOSTLE JOHN.

ALL ages and all writers appear to have been sensible of the singular difficulty of the task before them, when they have endeavoured to form and to express their conception of "the disciple whom Jesus loved." They seem to have felt that they were entering into a new region of existence, elevated far above that in which they had previously lived and moved, more sublime, more spiritual, more heavenly and incomprehensible. We can hardly wonder that it should have been so, for it is impossible to doubt that it was some special affinity of character to His own that made the Redeemer draw the beloved disciple so closely to His bosom; that knit Him to him by bonds even more dear and tender than the bonds by which He united Himself to those whom He called "not servants but friends"; that made Him find in him the deepest revealer of the mystery of His own Person, of the essence of His Gospel, and of the fortunes of His Church. Whatever may be said of St. John, in comparing him with the other Apostles of our Lord; or however, when we look at him in himself, we may feel baffled in our efforts to follow him in the depth of his perceptions, in the spirituality of his views, and in the profound contemplativeness of his character, this consideration alone must most of all fill us with a consciousness of our weakness to speak of him as we ought, that in him, more than ever in mortal man besides himself, there dwelt the mind of Christ,—the mind of One who "in the beginning was with God, and was God," and whom none but the Father knew (John i. 1; Matt. xi. 27). Before even endeavouring to

comprehend such a personality we must have learned, so far at least, to feel with him by whom it is exhibited. *Οὐ τὸν νοῦν*, says Origen, in beautiful allusion to the place allowed to St. John upon his Master's breast, and illustrating at the same time the fundamental law of all interpretation, whether of sacred persons or of Scripture truths, *οὐ τὸν νοῦν οὐδεὶς δύναται λαβεῖν μὴ ἀναπνεσῶν ἐπὶ τὸ στήθος Ἰησοῦ*. There too let us rest, that, drinking from the same fountain the same waters of life, we may the better understand him who has done more than any other Apostle of the Lord for the highest forms of Christian theology in the past, and who is destined to do even more in the future than he has yet accomplished.

St. John was the son, in all probability the younger son, younger at least than his brother St. James, of Zebedee and Salome. Alford, indeed, founding upon the order in which the two names are mentioned in Luke ix. 28 and Acts i. 13, doubts whether this inference as to the relative ages of the two brothers is not hasty. But in all the catalogues of the Apostles, including St. Luke's own catalogue in chap. vi. 14, the name of James stands first. What is probably of still greater consequence in its bearing upon this point, he is also mentioned first in Mark x. 35, a passage in which we might naturally expect the order of age to be observed; and the general tradition of the Church favours the same conclusion. Of the father we know little. He was a fisherman upon the Sea of Galilee, who pursued that occupation along with his sons, and continued it even after they had been summoned, and had obeyed the summons, by Christ to follow Him. Of Salome we fortunately know more; and it is not without a pleasure which all will share that we must regard her as one of those mothers in Israel to whose example and training the world has so often owed its greatest benefactors and its noblest heroes. It is possible, though by no means certain, that Salome was a sister of



the Virgin Mary; for if, at John xix. 25, we adopt the view, apparently first suggested by Wieseler, that four and not, as commonly supposed, three women are named—"But there were standing by the cross of Jesus His mother, and His mother's sister, Mary the wife of Clopas, and Mary Magdalene," a comparison of Matthew xxvii. 56 and Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1, makes it plain that the second can be no other than "Salome" or "the mother of the sons of Zebedee." It is unnecessary to investigate the point, because it would not help us to understand better the ties that bound Jesus to St. John. These depended, not on relationship by blood, but on spiritual sympathy: "Who is My mother? and who are My brethren? And He stretched forth His hand toward His disciples, and said, Behold, My mother and My brethren! For whosoever shall do the will of My Father which is in heaven, he is My brother, and sister, and mother" (Matt xii. 48-50). Whether related to the Virgin or not, the piety of Salome appears in her constant waiting on Jesus, and ministering to Him of the substance which she possessed either as her own or through her husband (Mark xv. 40, xvi. 1; Luke viii. 3; comp. Mark i. 20); nor can we fail to recognise an exhibition of the same spirit, mixed though it may have been with earthly elements, when we are told that she came to Jesus with the request, "Command that these my two sons may sit, one on Thy right hand, and one on Thy left hand, in Thy kingdom" (Matt. xx. 21). That was not an act of simply proud ambition, or she would have chosen a private, not a public, moment for her request. Fulness of Messianic hope and enthusiasm for the cause of One whom she felt to be worthy of her trust and love, as well as zeal for her children's good, were there. That the susceptible heart of the son should have been powerfully influenced by the character of the mother it is impossible to doubt; and the traces of the influence are before us in all that

we know of his later life and in his writings. To that fountain-head we may in no small degree trace, as streams to their source, St. John's passionate devotion to the higher spirit of Judaism; his striking familiarity, more striking in his case than in that of any other writer of the New Testament, with the figures, the symbols, and the essence of the Old Testament; as well as what has been too little recognised, his intensely moral, even while ideal, conception of the Christian faith. How much we owe to Salome we shall never in this world know.

In circumstances such as these John received his training in the faith of his fathers; and, as that receptivity which in after life formed one of the most distinguishing features of his character must have existed in the child and in the boy, we may be sure that, from his earliest years, he would imbibe in a far greater than ordinary degree the sublime recollections and aspirations of Israel. In the Jewish sense of the word, however, St. John was not a learned man. The people at Jerusalem looked upon both him and his fellow Apostle St. Peter as "unlearned and ignorant" (Acts iv. 13); that is, as men who could be regarded in no other light because they had not passed through the discipline of the Rabbinical Schools. Well for both of them, well at least for him who is always, and justly, considered the younger of the two, that it had been so. That discipline would have its value; but for one who was to act the part of the son of Zebedee a far more valuable education had been provided,—that of the family and the synagogue, of a busy occupation, of the silent stars as they shone by night upon the Sea of Galilee.

This special training again possesses for us, when we think of what would be the natural development of the Apostle, its own peculiar interest. The humble occupation and want of systematic education of St. John have often been represented as inconsistent with the idea that he could be

the author of the New Testament books that bear his name. To write them, it is imagined, would require the cultivated taste, the enlarged liberality of soul, the refined and gentle feelings which belong to the polished life of cities rather than the rude life of the country and the fisherman. Not so. It was St. John's very familiarity with nature rather than with man, his moving amidst her scenes of grandeur and beauty rather than amidst the conventionalities of a stiff and pedantic scholasticism, that fitted him to take into his fresh heart its impressions both of the personality of Jesus and of the lessons which He taught. Had St. John been a disciple of the school even of Gamaliel, to say nothing of lesser lights, we should probably have had from him neither the fourth gospel nor the Apocalypse. Inspiration does not confer new powers or alter the constitution of the mind. To each man is given "according to his several ability" (Matt. xxv. 15).

We first hear of John in the Gospels as connected with the Baptist, to whom it would seem that he had attached himself at the very beginning of his ministry (John i. 35). Upon him too the Baptist evidently made a deeper impression than upon any other of the evangelists who describe his mission. This may have arisen partly from the fact that John was a disciple of the Baptist, while they were not. But the explanation must be further sought in his ability to enter more deeply than they into the spirit of the Baptist's mission, and especially to appreciate more fully its higher evangelical aspects. This much at least is clear, that, while the other evangelists present, more distinctly than St. John, the Baptist as the great prophet of repentance, as the stern reprover of the sins of Israel, St. John presents him more fully in his more immediate relation to the Saviour, and in his appreciation of the inward power and glory of His coming. He not only omits such statements as those found in Matthew iii. 7-10, Luke iii.

7-14, but he alone gives us the three confessions of Andrew, Philip, and Nathanael, which unfold in a climacteric series the loftiest conceptions alike of what Jesus was and of what He was to do. "We have found the Messiah"; "We have found Him, of whom Moses in the law, and the prophets, did write, Jesus of Nazareth, the Son of Joseph"; "Rabbi, Thou art the Son of God; Thou art King of Israel." Nor is this all; for he alone records those closing words of his career in which the Baptist shows how deeply, from the Old Testament point of view, he had entered into the spirit of the Messiah's work, and had welcomed the life and light and joy which it was to bring to a redeemed world: "He that hath the bride is the bridegroom: but the friend of the bridegroom, which standeth and heareth him, rejoiceth greatly because of the bridegroom's voice: this my joy therefore is fulfilled. He must increase, but I must decrease" (John iii. 29, 30). There is no good reason to suppose that, because such words have not been also reported by the synoptists, they are to be regarded as the creation of St. John. They are perfectly suited to the Forerunner. They are even implied in the consideration upon which he grounded his call to repentance, "The kingdom of heaven is at hand" (Matt. iii. 2); and that St. John remembered and gives them, while the earlier evangelists fail to do so, is but a proof, partly of the greater susceptibility of his nature, and partly of the manner in which he beheld all things, past present and to come, as they pointed to, existed in, or were to spring from Him who was the Light and the Life of men.

The Baptist was the first to direct John's attention to Jesus, and that in words which again the latter alone has preserved, "Behold, the Lamb of God" (John i. 36). In company with Andrew, he immediately followed Jesus, inquired of Him where He stayed, accompanied Him to the place, and remained with Him all that evening. What



the subject of conversation was we are not informed ; but the Divine Sower had scattered His good seed in the young, ingenuous heart then open to Him, and, although John returned at this time for a little to his ordinary work, the seed began to spring up ; and when, shortly afterwards, the formal call was given, he immediately left the employment with which he was occupied at the time, and followed Jesus (Matt. iv. 21, 22).

From this time onward until the close of his Master's earthly career John was the constant and close attendant on His ministry. It is unnecessary to dwell upon the nature of that relationship which was formed between them, and which, partly as a cause, partly as a consequence, enabled the disciple to enter more fully into the heart of the Master than any other of His followers. Not merely was he one of the chosen three, who alone were permitted to be present at the raising of the daughter of Jairus, at the transfiguration, and at the agony in Gethsemane (Luke viii. 51, ix. 28 ; Mark xiv. 33), even of that chosen band he was the most chosen, *ἐκλεκτῶν ἐκλεκτότερος*, as one of the Fathers calls him. He leaned upon Christ's breast at supper, not accidentally, but as the disciple whom Jesus loved (John xiii. 23). He and St. Peter alone of the Apostles, when their Master was betrayed and taken before the judgment seat, went in with Him to the palace of the high priest (John xviii. 15). He alone seems to have accompanied Him to Calvary ; and to him the Saviour's last charge on behalf of His afflicted mother was given, "Woman, behold thy son ! Son, behold thy mother !" (John xix. 26, 27.) He was the first on the resurrection morning, after Mary Magdalene had brought the tidings that the tomb was empty, to reach the sepulchre (John xx. 4) ; and, when Jesus appeared to His disciples at the Sea of Galilee, he was again the first, with that instinct which depth of affection gives, to recognise Him on the

shore (John xxi. 7). Throughout the whole of Christ's life on earth it is the same. St. John is ever nearest to Him; leaning upon His breast, not at supper only, but in spirit always, and meriting the beautiful name of *ἐπιστήθιος*, by which he was distinguished in the early Church.

And the Saviour met him in the same loving fellowship; not because he was the most talented, or because he was in all probability the youngest, the Benjamin, of the apostolic band; not even because he had most faith: but because he so leaned upon Him and clung to Him. He looked into the depths of that sensitive and sympathising nature, saw how wholly it was given up to Him, marked the trembling of its love, beheld the delight with which it drank ever larger draughts of grace out of His fulness and would fain even have lost itself in Him. He took that disciple therefore to His breast; and, so much did all feel the suitableness of the fellowship, that no murmur was excited in them at the apparent preference. The appropriateness, the beauty, and the necessity of the union were seen by them. They could rejoice in beholding the soul of Jonathan knit to a far higher than the soul of David; and, like them, all after ages of the Church have thought of that Divine communion with a wonder and a joy unmarred by any trace of envy.

After the ascension of our Lord we have little information regarding St. John of any special interest. He is indeed several times mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles as labouring and suffering along with the Apostle Peter, equally earnest, equally bold, equally ready to die in the cause of Christ. At a somewhat later date St. Paul found him at Jerusalem enjoying the high distinction of being regarded, along with St. Peter and St. James, as one of the pillars of the Church (Gal. ii. 9), a circumstance which, taken along with the fact that St. Paul thought it necessary to explain chiefly to them the nature of his work among the

Gentiles, would lead us to believe that at this period John must still have belonged to that portion of the Christian community which had not risen to the full conception of the entirely independent character of the Christian faith.

After this date the Bible is silent regarding St. John ; but the traditions of the Church, which are in his case less contradictory than they generally are, agree in the statement that the latter part of his life was spent in proconsular Asia and chiefly in Ephesus, which, late in the first century, became the great centre of eastern Christianity. At what time he went there indeed we do not know. It could hardly have been before St. Paul visited the city, for it was that Apostle's rule not to enter upon the field of other men's labours, and in the Epistle to the Ephesians there is neither mention of his name nor allusion to anything that might have been occasioned by his presence. The probability is that, deeply attached to Jerusalem, clinging to the memories which had become associated with it through the labours and death of Jesus, he lingered on the sacred spot till the time of its desolation approached. Then he may have wandered forth from a place upon which the judgment of God had set its seal, and found his way to Ephesus. There is no cause at least to doubt that he laboured there, or that he enjoyed there that honour and respect which Eusebius has commemorated by describing him as the high priest wearing the golden plate.<sup>1</sup> From Ephesus, according to a tolerably unanimous, if rather indefinite, tradition of the Church, which finds confirmation in the words of Revelation i. 9, he was banished for a time to the island of Patmos, a rock in the *Ægean* Sea, but was afterwards permitted to return to the scene of his labours in Ephesus. The days of the old Apostle were now however drawing to a close. The companions of his earlier life, those whose eyes, like his, had seen, whose ears had

<sup>1</sup> *H. E.* v. 24.

heard, and whose hands had handled of the Word of life, had all been long since gathered to their rest. They had fought out their battle, and won their crown. And his time too was come. With what joy may we imagine him waiting for his call to join the Master whom he loved, and from whose presence he had been separated for more than threescore years! How would he lift up his head as he beheld the hour of his redemption drawing nigh! He died, and was buried at Ephesus; and with him closes the apostolic age.

Such are the main incidents of St. John's life so far as known to us, and we have now to mark his character as a whole.

St. John's was one of those richer natures that belong less to the age in which they live than to the ages that follow them. If it be true, as a great poet of the present century has said, that it "needs the ideal to brush the dust an hair's breadth off the actual"; if it be not so much by men of action as by profound principles and ideas that the world is governed and its onward march guided: then it is the idealist in the highest and best sense of the word in whom the future as well as the present may most claim its share. Such an idealist St. John pre-eminently was. Of all the Apostles it was he who caught most the spirit of his Master, of that Divine Redeemer who, as the "Word made flesh," embodied the kingdom of heaven in the forms and modes of earth. Yet he caught that spirit upon its idealistic side, and it is with the eye of intuition, rather than with that of sharp defining intellect, that he gazes upon the glory which he beheld in Jesus. The idea itself in mystic grandeur rises before his view; it is for others to analyse and to define. He could not, like St. Paul, have separated the parts of that truth which had been revealed to him, nor could he have followed in all its windings the experience of different classes of individuals as they came into connexion



with the truths of God. The most general expressions therefore are those that are familiar to him, expressions which it is almost impossible to define, and the force of which is lost by the very effort to do so. Christ is "Life"; Christ is "Light"; Christ is "the Truth"; sin is darkness, is death. Let us try to define words like these; and, if we succeed, we are instantly out of the sphere of thought in which the Apostle moved. We have passed from the immediate contemplation of the spiritual and eternal, and have taken our place in the region of mental analysis and dialectic speculation.

Similar to this was St. John's relation to action. In restlessness of energy, in outward activity, in the power of applying means to ends, he could not have done the work either of St. Peter or of St. Paul. As it could not have been his to meet with the needful versatility of talent the wants of men of all the different nations of the earth, of Asia Minor, of Macedonia, at Athens, and at Rome, so neither could it have been his to open the door of faith to the Gentiles, and to combat for the application of the principles of the Gospel to many of the mixed questions of the time. It was not in action that his strength lay. At our very first introduction to him, when, along with Andrew, he had spent the evening with Jesus, it was Andrew and not he that ran to communicate to others what he had found (John i. 40). On those occasions, already noticed, when we find him associated with Peter, the latter at once takes the leading and commanding position. And hence, in all probability, the fact which at first sight seems so strange, that the Apostle who has left the deepest traces of his mind upon the Church of Christ should apparently have made so little impression upon his fellow Apostles. They did not fully comprehend his contemplative and ideal nature. They would have better understood him had he been foremost to speak like Peter, first to doubt like Thomas. But

he was neither ; and that eye alone which saw what was in man beheld the rich treasures buried under the "abounding sea" which swelled in His disciple's heart, till every bay and creek around its wide circumference was full. St. John can act, but he is not first in action.

Yet this shrinking from action arose from no indifference, from no shallow or superficial views, from no latitudinarian feelings, from no want of readiness to sacrifice himself in his Master's cause. His feelings, on the contrary, were keen and deep, absorbing his whole soul, burning within him as a fire. To this, in all probability, he owed that surname of Boanerges, which, in common with his brother James, he received from Jesus (Mark iii. 17) ; not a name to denote any power of startling eloquence, but rather that vehement temperament which a strong grasp of great ideas gives, and which, when afterwards spiritualized and refined in intercourse with Christ, was to sustain His disciple's otherwise gentle spirit in his long conflict with a world which was the enemy of God (Jas. iv. 4). From a soul like this storms may be expected to burst forth. "It is not surprising," says Stanley, "that the deep stillness of such a character should, like the oriental sky, break out from time to time into tempests of impassioned vehemence ; still less that the character which was to excel all others in its devoted love of good should give indications—in its earlier stages even in excess—of that intense hatred of evil without which love of good can hardly be said to exist."<sup>1</sup>

On various occasions during our Lord's ministry we find this vehemence exhibiting itself, as when, *e.g.*, he would have called down fire from heaven upon the Samaritan village, and when he would have forbidden certain disciples to cast out devils in Christ's name because they followed not with them (Luke ix. 54, 49). We find it, though unmingled there with earthly elements, in the singular manner

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons and Essays on the Apostolic Age*, p. 250.

in which he alludes to Judas. Whenever he mentions him, he either quotes some strong expression of Jesus, or uses language of his own, portraying the repulsion with which he shrank from him. "Have I not chosen you twelve, and one of you is a devil" (John vi. 70), are words of Christ preserved by him alone. "This he said, not that he cared for the poor; but because he was a thief, and bearing the bag, took away what was put therein" (John xii. 6), is again a remark in connexion with the anointing by Mary made by him alone. He notices the relief which the departure of the traitor from the upper chamber in Jerusalem evidently afforded to our Lord: "When therefore he was gone out, Jesus saith, Now is the Son of man glorified, and God is glorified in Him" (John xiii. 31); and, when he mentions the other Judas, he interposes the caution "Judas, not Iscariot" (John xiv. 22), in order that the chance of confusion between him and the traitor may be avoided.

As connected with this point, it may be well to notice for a moment in passing the remarkable manner in which St. John associates the name "Iscariot," not with Judas only, but with Simon his father. "Now he spake of Judas the son of Simon Iscariot"; "So when He had dipped the sop, He taketh and giveth it to Judas the son of Simon Iscariot" (John vi. 71, xiii. 26, later readings). There is nothing indeed remarkable in the fact considered in itself; for if, as is most probable, the meaning of "Iscariot" be "the man of Kerioth," the use of the term is not less appropriate in the case of the father than of the son. But why mention it? Kerioth was a town in the tribe of Judah (Josh. xv. 25), and the thought of Judah suggested the idea of "the Jews." Not only then is Judas a man of Kerioth, that town of Judah and the Jews, his father is so too. The principle of heredity is present to the Apostle's mind, and the double link seems to deepen the

thought of the existence in Judas of all that was most alien to the person and the work of Jesus.

These instances might of themselves sufficiently illustrate the strength of feeling with which St. John recoiled from the enemies of Christ. But the same thing appears in his language on many other occasions: "He that believeth not God hath made Him a liar"; "If any one cometh unto you, and bringeth not this teaching, receive him not into your house, and give him no greeting: for he that giveth him greeting partaketh in his evil works"; "Whosoever hateth his brother is a murderer"; "Who is the liar but he that denieth that Jesus is the Christ?" (1 John v. 10; 2 John 10, 11; 1 John iii. 15, ii. 22.) And, lastly, if we come to the traditions of his later days, the truth of which there seems to be no good reason to dispute, we find a similar spirit in the story of Cerinthus and the bath, when, the moment that he discovered the heretic, the Apostle exclaimed, "Let us fly, lest even the bath-house fall in, as there is within it Cerinthus, the enemy of the truth"; and when, suiting the action to the word, he sprang out of the bath-house, without having taken the bath. Still more does this trait of character appear in one of the most touching stories of Christian antiquity, that of St. John and the young robber. The story is given by Eusebius in the third book of his *Ecclesiastical History* (chap. xxiii.), upon the authority of a lost work of Clement of Alexandria. It is at once so beautiful and so illustrative of the character of St. John that it may be told again, though in the substance rather than the exact narrative of Clement. The scene is the neighbourhood of Ephesus, the time is after St. John's return from his banishment at Patmos, and the tale is introduced by Clement with the words "*ἀκούσον μῦθον οὐ μῦθον ἀλλὰ ὄντα λόγον.*"

At one of his visits to the Churches near Ephesus, John, when he had finished his address to the brethren, was



struck with the aspect of one of his hearers, a youth of lofty stature, noble countenance, and ardent soul. He turned to the bishop, and said, "In the sight of Christ and His Church, I commend this youth to your care." The bishop accepted the charge, and for a time faithfully fulfilled it. He took the young man home, cherished, educated, and at last baptized him. Then however, as if no more were needed, he relaxed his care. Idle, dissolute companions immediately attached themselves to the young man; from one step in folly and sin to another they lured him on, until at length, believing that all hope was lost, he resolved to set no limit to his wickedness, formed his comrades into a band of robbers, placed himself at their head, and surpassed them all in violence, bloodthirstiness, and cruelty. Time passed, and St. John revisited the neighbourhood. When he had arranged all other matters, he turned to the bishop and said, "Come, restore to me my deposit which I and Christ committed to thee in the presence of the Church over which thou presidest." It was some time before the bishop understood him; but, when he did, he exclaimed with groans and tears, "The young man is dead." "How, and by what death?" said the Apostle. "He is dead to God," was the reply; "he has turned out wicked and abandoned, and instead of the Church he has beset the mountains with a band like himself." The Apostle on hearing this rent his garments, beat his head, ordered a horse to be instantly got ready, and hastened to the robbers' hold. He was taken prisoner, but not attempting to escape cried out, "For this very purpose am I come; conduct me to your captain." As soon as the latter beheld in the approaching prisoner the old Apostle, he was overcome with shame, and turned to flee. The Apostle however, forgetful of his age, pursued him with all his might, crying out, "Why, my child, dost thou flee from me, thy father, unarmed, old? Have pity on me, my child; fear

not. Thou hast yet hope of life. I will answer to Christ for thee if it be necessary. I will willingly die for thee as the Lord died for us. I will give my soul a ransom for thine. Stand, believe, Christ hath sent me." The young man was melted by the voice. He stood with downcast eyes, threw away his weapons, and burst into tears. Then when the old man came up with him, the youth took him in his arms, pleaded for himself with lamentations as he best could; "and was thus," says Clement, "in tears a second time baptized." Then St. John embraced him, assured him that he found mercy for him with Christ, entreated him to come, fell at his feet, kissed his right hand, which the young man had hitherto kept concealed, as cleansed from all iniquity, and led him back again to the Church. "Then," adds Clement, "praying with abundant prayers, contending along with him in many fastings, soothing his mind with constant and varied words, he did not leave him until he had completely restored him to the Church, affording therein a mighty instance of a true repentance, a mighty example of a new birth, a trophy of a visible resurrection."

In all these particulars then we see the vehemence of the beloved disciple, the holy fire which burned within him, that lion groundwork of character which, when accompanied with lamb-like gentleness in intercourse with men, wins more than any other combination of qualities that we can think of our admiration and our love.

What has now been said will throw light upon another conception often formed of the character of St. John, that he was soft and effeminate. Effeminate he was not; womanly he was. In his receptivity of disposition, in his gentleness and tenderness, in his desire to lose himself in Christ we see the features of the truest womanhood; but softness he had none. Everything told us of him speaks him rather firm and bold, and all his own language reveals

the same manly heart. "Hear how he thunders!" says one of the Fathers, speaking of the introduction to his Gospel; and throughout the whole of it there is the same decided step, the step of one whom no terrors would have shaken, and no threats of death appalled. He will not like Peter say to his Master, "I will go with Thee to prison and to death"; but when the time for going comes, and even Peter is faithless, he will press on unfaltering to the judgment hall and to the cross. Any softness therefore which we may think we mark in him is not natural timidity; it is love and gentleness, love and gentleness moulded after the pattern of Him who, while He witnessed before Pontius Pilate a good confession, would yet have gathered Jerusalem to Him as a hen gathereth her chickens under her wing.

Perhaps the most marked characteristic of the Apostle John was his receptivity of disposition, his openness of heart for all that was true and beautiful and holy, and the delight with which he dwelt upon it in the inmost depths of his own soul, till it penetrated and formed his whole nature to a likeness with itself. Such is the uniform aspect in which his relation to the Saviour presents itself. His apprehension of his Divine Master was the result, not only of his intercourse with Him while He was on the earth, but of the constant, the deep, and the affectionate meditation with which he dwelt upon Him in long years afterwards. "Out of His fulness have all we received, and grace for grace," was the true expression of a lifelong intercourse, during which the fulness of Jesus rose gradually upon his view, not striking him suddenly, as outward glory strikes and blinds the eye, but coming in upon him like a calm, swelling tide, moment by moment covering each rock, and swallowing up each once separate pool in the grand volume of its waters. Hence the growth, which is so perceptible in St. John; partly in knowledge—"When therefore He was

risen from the dead, His disciples remembered that He had said this unto them ; and they believed the Scripture, and the word which Jesus had said " (John ii. 22) ; " These things understood not His disciples at the first : but when Jesus was glorified, then remembered they that these things were written of Him " (John xii. 16)—but partly also in his own spiritual feelings when the traces of harshness and severity that reveal themselves in his judgment on the Samaritan village and the forbidding of the casting out of devils in Christ's name disappear in his full-orbed love. Hence also, probably, the singular devotion of his heart to the person of Jesus ; for it was in Him more even than in His teaching that he found ever-increasing depths in which to sink himself. His love to his Master was emphatically love to what that Master personally was, as He revealed to him His glory, " the glory of the only begotten of the Father, full of grace and truth."

This love to Jesus, accordingly, has always been recognised as the distinctive feature by which we distinguish between the Apostle and the other members of the apostolic circle ; but it is essentially connected with the receptivity just spoken of. Not by force of talent, not even by strength of faith, but because he could give himself so wholly up to his Lord in receptive sympathy, could he better than all others comprehend One whose whole mission was love, whose whole soul melted with compassion for the wandering sheep He had come to search out and save. Thus it was that St. John was formed to love, and that, while the other Apostles whose writings have been preserved raise many a noble song of adoration to " Him who is over all and above all, God blessed for ever," it was given to St. John alone to reveal the Son and the Father in the Son as essentially love : " God is love ; and he that abideth in love abideth in God, and God abideth in him " (1 John iv. 16).



With this receptivity of disposition were connected other features of St. John's character that ought not to be omitted,—simplicity, sublimity, and pathos. His simplicity appears partly in the fact that he never names himself in his Gospel. This is the case even before his connexion with Jesus: "And the two disciples heard Him speak, and they followed Jesus" (John i. 37); after which we learn that one of the two was Andrew, but are not told who the other was, and can only infer from his general method of speaking that it was John. It was also the case afterwards, for he always mentions himself only as "the disciple whom Jesus loved," and this he does so indirectly that it requires a considerably wider chain of particulars to ascertain that it is really himself he means. But this simplicity further appears in the whole structure of his Gospel, in the connexions of the sentences, in the constructions, and in the language which he employs. So extremely simple is he in these respects that, on first reading his Gospel, we are ready to imagine there is here nothing difficult to understand; and it is only when we come carefully to examine it, and to endeavour to attach a meaning to the words, that we find ourselves in the midst of the profoundest conceptions which can occupy the mind of man.

Out of this also arises St. John's sublimity. Not that there is any reason to suppose that he was naturally sublime in thought, but the object constantly before his eyes made him so. In the closeness of his fellowship with the eternal Word he passed into a far higher sphere than that in which the other Apostles moved. The sayings and discourses of Christ preserved by him have about them a mysterious grandeur far surpassing that of those recorded, except on one or two special occasions, by the other evangelists.

With this sublimity was closely connected the pathos of the Apostle's character. The two indeed can hardly be

separated from each other. A sublime religious faith contrasts to such a degree with what is actually around us, that it must awaken longings for the realization of its visions. And these longings will show themselves in a plaintiveness of tone which it will be impossible to conceal. Add to this the thought of the "still sad music of humanity," as, dimly realizing its present exile state, it longs after restoration to its home, and he who speaks truly to it and for it will always know something of what was at least a part of the burden of the Man of sorrows. How much then might we expect to find this in St. John! and it is there. There is a lyric sadness in such words as these: "He was in the world, and the world knew Him not"; "He came unto His own things, and they that were His own received Him not"; "But though He had done so many signs before them, yet they believed not on Him" (John i. 10, 11; xii. 37). The beloved disciple mourns over the evil and the blindness that are around him, and longs for the hour when his Lord will come.

Such then was St. John in some, at least, of the features of his character, in his idealism, his contemplativeness, his receptivity of disposition; in his clinging devotion to his Lord, and desire to lose himself in Him; in his simplicity, sublimity, and pathos. There is much in the other Apostles that draws us to them with admiration, in the noble fidelity of St. James, the devoted energy of St. Peter, the unflagging zeal of St. Paul. St. John has claims on us wholly his own. He awakens awe as well as love; he makes us look at him as if he were a being of another world, even when he says to us, "Little children, love one another." The impression which he left upon the Church was probably greater than that made by any of the Apostles who did even more than he to convert the world to the Christian faith. In the hymns of the Middle Ages no one of them holds a more prominent place. And, if almost all the different branches

of the Reformed Church are now anxiously longing for a deeper and more living theology than that left them by the Reformation, it is from the thoughts of St. John, and from the manner in which the Lord Jesus Christ, the sum and substance of Christianity, is presented by him, that that theology will spring.

W. MILLIGAN.

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### WELLHAUSEN'S "HISTORY OF ISRAEL."

EVERY student of the controversies which now beset the "Hexateuch" is, for the time being, consciously or unconsciously, a Protestant. For no such question can ever be approached except upon the hypothesis that judgment is free, that we may not submit absolutely to the decision of authority, however venerable and however peremptory.

But when the new doctrine cries aloud in the market place, becomes popularized in reviews, and is delivered *ex cathedra* in encyclopædias, when the inevitable period of panic arises, another kind of protestantism comes into operation.

Plenty of readers who are not experts in the higher criticism, and who never will be qualified to become such, turn to a work like Wellhausen's *History*, not merely to ask, *How much revolutionary doctrine must be accepted?* but very emphatically to ask, *Why?* They want to know for themselves what is the nature of the new movement. Plenty of orthodox clergymen, and laymen too, who have not the slightest notion of rejecting anything which can be really proved, have just as little intention of letting go their old beliefs until the case is really made out to their satisfaction. There are many points of recondite research which they are quite content to receive upon the authority

of a fair consensus of technical opinion, knowing that they cannot themselves decide upon them. But even when the consent has been reached, to which it is fitting that they should concede such points, they will not be driven one step farther than their own judgments perceive to be involved by these concessions. They will not make their judgments blind. They are consistent Protestants.

Perhaps they are the bolder to pursue this course through remembering how Ewald affected them, how vainly they searched for evidence enough to justify his bewildering list of the geological strata in which the Hexateuch was deposited; how they needed to harden their hearts against even the decision of Stanley, that "Ewald had done for Judæa all that Wolf and Niebuhr did for Greece and Rome" (*Jewish Church*, i., xii.). These documents having now been redistributed as if a kaleidoscope were shaken, they cannot help thinking that perhaps it may be shaken again. How peremptorily were we bidden a while ago to believe that the Elohist came before the Jehovist, and the Priestly Code before the history. Surely the reversal of all this confident assertion, with more than equal confidence, exhibits "criticism" under a blue light. At that time it was proved to us by many infallible signs that Deuteronomy was written long after the rest of the Pentateuch had taken form. It is the contrary that is now proved to us, also by many infallible signs. "Merciful heaven," said Abou Hassan to himself, "inform me of the truth, that I may know what I have to trust in! Am I only Abou Hassan? or am I the Commander of the Faithful?" And this wonderful but somewhat volatile criticism, "merciful heaven, inform us," what is that?

Most readers of this kind will utterly refuse to be shaken by the discovery of later touches which may fairly be ascribed to editing, or even by evidence, if such were forthcoming, of the insertion of later laws. It would seem



indeed that if the laws were primitive, they must, in the nature of things, have been more than once revised and codified to suit the exigences of changing times. It has been notorious ever since the days of Spinoza that we have mention of kings who reigned in Edom "before there reigned any king over the children of Israel" (Gen. xxxvi. 31), and of the eating of manna "until they came to a land inhabited" (Exod. xvi. 35), and that places are called by later names, such as Dan, to which Abraham pursued the confederate kings, but which was Laish until the time of the Judges (Gen. xiv. 14; Jud. xviii. 29). Only stupidity can deny that if the documents are primitive, they have undergone a free editorship. For indeed, in those happy times, footnotes were unknown; the sacredness of an author's workmanship was a dogma yet to be propounded; and whatever could improve or illustrate the narrative was incorporated in the text with as little scruple as Croker felt in manipulating Boswell, or the editor of a modern hymn-book in distorting any masterpiece of genius and devotion. But all this was admitted long ago, and it is nothing to the present purpose to explode, for the hundredth time, that mechanical theory of the work of Moses which insisted that he wrote by inspiration the story of his own death. Do not we ourselves ascribe our Prayer-Book to the period of the Reformation, although it prays for Queen Victoria and Albert Edward Prince of Wales, and gives thanks for Her Majesty's happy accession upon the 20th of June?

It is for such readers that one of themselves now sends to THE EXPOSITOR some notes which he thinks may deserve consideration. As long as he abstains from even expressing the surprise he feels at the treatment of some technical departments of the subject, which belong to the professional students of an abstruse and recondite science, he cannot be reproached for examining what lies fairly within his

range; nor even for withholding implicit confidence from the reports brought him from beyond, when he finds grave reason for mistrust of the conclusions arrived at under his very eyes. Because, once more, he is a Protestant. Fortunately the conclusions which lie within reach of every careful reader are those upon which Wellhausen himself lays greatest stress, and upon which assuredly the issue will depend.

No candid reader will be blind to the charm of a theory so broad, lucid, and orderly, and sustained by so immense an array of references to Scripture, each of them professing to reveal the evidence for some assertion which is made without a qualification or a qualm. The orthodox theory finds itself confronted, for the first time, by a theory as compact and symmetrical, as truly explanatory of the phenomena, as itself. But does the evidence hold water? Do the references prove what they claim to prove? In the fulness of time, when the final verdict upon Wellhausen's *History* is pronounced, much will turn upon the answer to this latter query. And, in the meantime, some contribution to that result is made by every examiner who reports honestly what he has discovered, even if he have no pretensions to treat as an expert other more recondite questions which are also raised.

One important preliminary remark must still be made. The honest reader of such a book as Wellhausen's will often tax his mental energies, and even load the scale against his old opinions, in the endeavour to free himself from bias, prejudice, prepossession. But there is a bias which ought not to be got rid of. A man who is honestly convinced, upon solid grounds, of the miraculous origin of Christianity will bring to the examination of any work which is clearly intolerant of miracle the same kind of bias which an astronomer brings to the examination of clever theories which favour the opinion that the world is flat.

He will not refuse to examine them, feeling pretty sure that if they prove true they will not really involve the supposed result. But his first impressions will be unfriendly, and he need not be ashamed of that, provided he retains his candour. Now it will not be denied that Wellhausen's whole theory is unfriendly to the supernatural. Take one example of interpretation according to bias, steering by a deflected compass. He writes, "somewhat later perhaps" than the earliest historical books "the legends about the patriarchs and primitive times, *the origin of which cannot be assigned to a very early date*, received literary shape" (p. 464). Do we ask why they cannot be assigned to a very early date? He answers in the following footnote, which is also a good specimen of his confident manner. "Even the Jehovistic narratives about the patriarchs belong to the time when Israel had already become a powerful kingdom: Moab, Ammon, and Edom had been subjugated (Gen. xxvii. 29), and vigorous frontier wars were being carried on with the Syrians about Gilead (Gen. xxxi. 52). In Genesis xxvii. 40 allusion is made to the constantly repeated subjugations of Edom by Judah, alternating with successful revolts on the part of the former" (p. 464).

What is this proof text that Moab, Ammon and Edom have been already subjugated? It is the blessing pronounced upon Jacob, "Let thy mother's sons bow down to thee." Where is allusion made to the repeated subjugations and revolts of Edom? In the blessing of Esau, "By thy sword shalt thou live, and thou shalt serve thy brother." But this boldly assumes the question in dispute, namely, that they cannot be predictions. And frontier wars are being waged with the Syrians about Gilead, because Jacob and Laban set up a pillar of witness between them. We are not told how to explain by historical events a similar treaty of peace between Isaac and the king of the Philistines.

But our point is Wellhausen's attitude, hostile to the miraculous, emphatically incredulous of the prophetic.

Surely we are better entitled to start with exactly the opposite presumption, not by any such *petitio principii*, but for a solid reason which the above extract will illustrate.

Since it is clearly felt that these would be prophetic if they were written previous to the event, they afford a measure of the amount of coincidence which must be postdated, unless prophecy is to be admitted. Are there no passages fraught with much more startling coincidence, with suggestion at least as profound and obvious, the force of which cannot be evaded by any possible change of date? Sweep away at a stroke all controversy about Old Testament dates, concede more than raging lunacy will demand, and place every manuscript upon a dead level of one century before Christ, and you still retain predictions—which of course have been explained away, but which are at the lowest estimate far more definite and startling than those for which it is felt to be necessary to seek out a convenient date, predictions moreover quite subversive of the Judaism which nevertheless cherishes them in her bosom. A prophet is to arise like Moses, who not only inaugurated an epoch but founded a religion and a commonwealth, who found his people slaves and left them freemen. A new priesthood, fatal to the law, is to arise after the order of a king of the accursed race of Canaan. One whom God has forsaken and brought into the dust of death, whose hands and feet are pierced and his raiment parted by lot, is to praise God in the midst of the congregation, and all the ends of the earth are to remember and return to the Lord. A crowning sacrifice is to atone for sin, a human sacrifice, yet the victim, after pouring out his soul unto death, shall prolong his days and divide the spoil with the strong. A man is brought nigh unto the Ancient of Days. Lastly, there resounds from Genesis to Malachi the promise that the narrowest, most



exclusive, and most race-bound of all creeds shall bless all the families of the earth. Will any one deny that a date, posterior to what the Church regards as the fulfilment of these passages, is required for them at least as urgently as for Jacob's pillar of witness? But it is impossible to satisfy the requirement.

Moreover Wellhausen asserts that the prophets did not make the peculiar character of the nation: "on the contrary, it made them" (p. 432). But here are prophecies upon a vast scale, diametrically opposed to that peculiar character, of a date which laughs at the *ex post facto* explanation, and fulfilled. Who uttered them? Were they made by the peculiar character of the nation? Are they not much more obvious than those above quoted, the date of which it is felt necessary to shift? Wellhausen's treatment of the 53rd of Isaiah fills one with pity for any unfortunate critic, arguing in such wise on behalf of orthodoxy, who should fall into the clutches of Wellhausen.

Approaching the documents therefore with a rational but fixed persuasion that the prophetic element cannot be eliminated, we find that we have not only blunted a hostile weapon, but have also established an enormous presumption upon the orthodox side. A literature which drank the waters of miraculous inspiration can scarcely mislead us in its account of the dealings of God with man.

Nevertheless the new theory offers a great relief to sceptical minds. By attributing Deuteronomy to the time of Josiah, and the Law to the return from exile, a number of prophecies are converted into *ex post facto* ventriloquisms; and one can waive aside easily enough the theophanies and interferences of Deity.

It is a fact then that believers in the miraculous origin of Christianity approach Old Testament subjects with minds far less biassed than their opponents. They are sure that

nothing which may be discovered about the origin of the Pentateuch can really contradict their faith in Jesus, while their opponents know very well that their attack upon Moses is essential to their disbelief in St. John.

What is the decisive point, the central position, in the present controversy? Wellhausen himself has told us what he considers it to be :

"The firemen never came near the spot where the conflagration raged; for it is only within the region of religious antiquities and dominant religious ideas,—the region which Vatke, in his *Biblische Theologie*, had occupied in its full breadth, and where the real battle first raged, that the controversy can be brought to a definite issue" (p. 12).

It will be a bad sign then if we find hesitation, inconsistency, or overstraining here.

Now the dominant idea in this sphere is that of sacrifice, and upon this subject Wellhausen has a carefully elaborated theory. "With the Hebrews, as with the whole ancient world, sacrifice constituted the main part of worship" (p. 52). "It is quite in harmony with the naïveté of antiquity that as to man so also to God that which is eatable is by preference offered. . . . In doing this, the regular form observed is that a meal is prepared in honour of the Deity, of which man partakes as God's guest" (p. 62). This is a statement of the origin of the rite, the earliest form of it; and so he adds, "it is of course true that 'in his offering the enlightened Hebrew saw no banquet to Jehovah,' but we hardly think of taking the enlightened Protestant as a standard for the *original character*<sup>1</sup> of Protestantism." We may ask in passing, Why not? On the assumption that a religion is Divine, we must do so. To take the unenlightened worshipper as a standard is to beg the whole question at stake, which is, whether the religion is above the race, lifting the people towards the Giver, or is lower, because the

<sup>1</sup> The italics are ours.

people invented it when they were less developed. The passage is a fair sample of the insidious process which first inserts as a postulate what is thereupon to be evolved as a demonstration. But our present concern is simply with the fact that sacrifice is held to have originated in festivity, shared with the god. Therefore, "when a sacrifice is killed, the offering consists not of the blood but of the eatable portions of the flesh.<sup>1</sup> Only these can be designated as the 'bread of Jehovah,' and, moreover, only the eatable domestic animals can be presented. At the same time, however, it is true that in the case of the bloody sacrifices a *new motive ultimately* came to be associated with *the original idea of the gift*" (p. 63). We have the same doctrine of the origin of sacrifice presently repeated more distinctly.

"In the early days worship arose out of the midst of ordinary life, and was in most intimate and manifold connexion with it. *A sacrifice was a meal*, a fact showing how remote was the idea of antithesis between spiritual earnestness and secular joyousness" (p. 76).

"Arising out of the exigences and directed to the objects of daily life, the sacrifices reflect in themselves a correspondingly rich variety. Our wedding, baptismal, and funeral feasts, on the one hand, and our banquets for all sorts of occasions, on the other, might be adduced as the most obvious comparison, were it not that here, too, the divorce between sacred and secular destroys it" (p. 77).

Such then is the origin of sacrifice; the solemn consciousness of sin has evaporated; there is only a glad feast shared with the deity.

How long did this state of things last? "The law which abolished all sacrificial seats, with a single exception, severed this connexion" between the sacred and secular in sacrifice (p. 77). And it is the essence of the new theory that this law came into being in the decline of the monarchy.

It needs no technical training to comprehend all this. It is a simple and coherent theory.

<sup>1</sup> Nevertheless, on p. 71 we read that "according to the praxis of the older period . . . it was the rule that only blood and fat were laid upon the altar, but the people ate the flesh."

But if there are two narratives in the Jewish history which cannot be other than primitive, they are the sacrifice of Isaac and of Jephthah's daughter. Neither of them can possibly have been performed or conceived under the influence of the later ritual. Wellhausen quotes them among other cases of human sacrifice "extraordinary or mythical" indeed, but distinctly related to "the older practice" (pp. 69, 70), and in sharp contrast with the Priestly Code, to which he presently turns.

Now a human sacrifice is utterly destructive of the whole theory that a sacrifice was a meal. The offering to God by preference of what is eatable, the banquet shared by Jehovah and His supplicant, the joyous feast from which any sense of sin is absent, all these belong to the same period and mode of thought with Abraham and Jephthah, only upon the supposition that these persons were cannibals.

The difficulty is aggravated when we are told that Jephthah "probably expected a human creature and not an animal to meet him" (p. 69). He was not entangled in the odious necessity for such a sacrifice; he planned it.

As we linger about this conflagration which the firemen will not approach, we are startled by the results of compliance with the good old rule, Always verify your quotations. We read just now that, according to the praxis of the older period, "where a sacrifice took place there was also eating and drinking (Exod. xxxii. 6; Jud. ix. 27; 2 Sam. xv. 11, *seq.*; Amos ii. 7)." Now what are these examples, quoted to show the character of orderly Jewish worship, according to the early praxis (p. 71)?

The first is the festival for Aaron's calf. The second and third are the seditious movements of Gaal against Abimelech, and of Absalom against David. The fourth is a wickedness which is then and there coupled with incest. As well might one quote the description of a Calvinistic service in Geneva to show what went on in St. Peter's at Rome.



In the same way we read that "in what is demonstrably the oldest ritual (Jud. vi. 19) the sacrifice is delivered to the altar flame boiled" (p. 62). But the reference is to the hasty and clandestine "present" of Gideon to the angel at the wine-press,<sup>1</sup> in which it would be harsh indeed if any ritual were demanded. As well might one appeal to a street preaching service to illustrate the ritual of the Abbey.

"There is a difference as to the ritual of the most solemn sin-offering between Exodus xxix., Leviticus ix., on one hand, and Leviticus iv. on the other" (p. 75). That is true; but the alleged contradiction is, in fact, a subtle and excellent example of the evidence from undesigned coincidence. In the fourth of Leviticus the normal rule for that sacrifice is given. In the ninth, that book takes part with Exodus, apparently against itself; but on closer inspection we find that it is now stating, like Exodus, the special proceeding upon the consecration of priests; and the modification of the sin-offering in these circumstances, consistently stated in both books, finds a curiously exact parallel in the modification of the Litany of our own Anglican Prayer-Book upon the occasion of consecrations and ordinations.

"According to Amos iv. 5, leavened bread was made use of precisely at a peculiarly solemn sacrifice" (p. 69). Turning to Amos, one discovers with surprise that such an offering is one which multiplies transgressions, and in reward for it God has given them cleanness of teeth, "yet have ye not returned to Me." It is therefore a strange example of what is orthodox in ritual. But we have good reason to welcome its citation. For in direct opposition to the contention that no place had yet obtained a monopoly of ritual sanctity, Amos there asserts that to come to Bethel is to transgress, and to Gilgal is to multiply the offence.

Again, the words, "in every place where I cause My

<sup>1</sup> For the use of מִנְחָה in a wholly non-ceremonial sense see, among scores of passages, Jud. iii. 15, almost immediately before.

name to be honoured will I come unto thee," assume a multiplicity of altars as a matter of course. And "a choice of two kinds of material is also given, which surely implies that the lawgiver thought of more than one altar" (p. 29). Now the passage is found in Exodus xx. 24-26, at a time when it was inevitable that the tabernacle should be fixed in many places. In contrast with the special and awful revelations upon Sinai, the approach of Deity to Israel elsewhere is announced. And the choice of earth or stone for an altar does not surely require both to exist contemporaneously. In assuming that God Himself is to indicate His acceptable places, the passage is far more consistent with the old theory than with its rival. And with so clear a meaning at hand for it, Wellhausen must at least, before imposing upon it his own rendering, say how, upon that supposition, it escaped the jealous supervision which, as we are taught, has patched and darned the existing documents, cutting out words and inserting half lines, until it resembles nothing but the coat of an Irish beggarman. There are many passages in the prophets, perfectly familiar to every reader, which speak contemptuously enough of the sacrifices which were then offered. The question is whether the writers despised sacrifice as such, holding the institution to be non-Mosaic and superstitious, or only scorned the formal offering of insincere and graceless worshippers. On this subject Wellhausen speaks with perfect confidence.

"Jeremiah is unacquainted with the Mosaic legislation as it is contained in the Priestly Code," and the proof is his words (vii. 21), "I said nought unto your fathers . . . in the day when I brought them out of the land of Egypt, concerning burnt-offerings and sacrifices," (pp. 58, 59). But, on any showing, Jeremiah was not ignorant of Deuteronomy, and there we find express commandments to offer, at the appointed central place, burnt-offerings and sacrifices (xii. 6). For what other object, indeed, are

we bidden to believe that it had recently been forged? But if Jeremiah could speak thus with Deuteronomy in his hands, and indeed "in the work of producing Deuteronomy he had taken an active part" (p. 489), it is surely too much to argue that he would not have spoken thus if he had seen Leviticus. It is assumed, quite in the same confident manner, that Isaiah denies the Divine institution of sacrifice because he asks, "To what purpose is the multitude of your sacrifices?" (p. 58.) But Isaiah is distinctly rejecting the formal and unworthy offerings of hands which are full of blood.

In fact, Wellhausen himself furnishes us with the best and most conclusive refutation of this whole line of argument. For he tells us (p. 501) that "the Psalms are altogether the fruit of this period," *i.e.* altogether post-exilian, and written when the domination of the Torah was complete. And did not the sacrificial worship pass for being specifically Mosaic in the days of the second temple? How then are we forced to believe that Isaiah "could not possibly have uttered" the above sentence "if the sacrificial worship had, according to any tradition whatever, passed for being specifically Mosaic" (p. 58), when the author of the fifty-first Psalm, a writer of the later and more formal period (as we are taught) could say, "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it: Thou delightest not in burnt offering" (ver. 16)?

But the true meaning of all such phrases becomes clear when the Psalmist adds that as soon as a spiritual reconciliation is effected, "Then shalt Thou delight in the sacrifices of righteousness, in burnt offering and whole burnt offering" (ver. 19).

It would be much easier to believe that worship was only localized during the later monarchy, if the existence of the tabernacle could be argued away, because it "expresses the legal unity of the worship as a historical fact" (p. 34). We

are told therefore that it was a later myth, "the copy, not the prototype, of the temple in Jerusalem" (p. 37); and no account is taken of Mr. Ferguson's well known demonstration (Smith's *Bible Dict.*) that all the measurements in the shrine of Solomon are doubled from dimensions convenient for a tent, and can scarcely be explained in a stately, permanent building but by presupposing such a model. To make good his contention, we are told that because a redactor considered that the high places, "the Bamoth, were permissible prior to the building of Solomon's temple, the tabernacle therefore did not exist for him" (p. 49). Yet we are assured that "it is certain that the prophet Isaiah did not labour for the removal of the Bamoth" (p. 25), although it will not be denied that the temple existed for him. If he tolerated high places while the temple stood (and this is the hypothesis), why should the redactor's tolerance of them at a former period imply that no tabernacle could have existed? It will not be denied that Isaiah recognised the privilege of coming with a pipe unto the mountain of the Lord (xxx. 29).

It has often been observed that Luther's discovery of a Bible and its forgotten teaching affords a curious parallel to Josiah's discovery of the law. It does more: it refutes entirely the contention that the Pentateuch must have been obeyed had it existed previously; for the whole Roman system, from end to end, was inconsistent with the apostolic teaching. Yet Luther did not forge the New Testament.

A sharper refutation still may be found in Wellhausen's admission, twice over, that the very practices which are so inconsistent with the existence of Josiah's book, were as rife as ever after it certainly existed. "We again see Bamoth appearing on all hands, even in the capital itself. Jeremiah has to lament that there are as many altars as towns in Judah" (p. 27). "Although Deuteronomy was not



formally abolished under Jehoiakim, nevertheless it ceased to have practical weight " (p. 489).

We really cannot grant all that is claimed for the "scientific" value of this method, which first proves by the presence of certain abuses that Deuteronomy did not and could not exist, and then coolly proceeds to assume that these abuses are quite consistent with its existence, its publication, its ratification by prophet, priest, and king.

It seems like a *reductio ad absurdum* to tell us that according to the Priestly Code "the patriarchs, having no tabernacle, have no worship at all" (p. 38).

If our author overstates the difficulties of the orthodox belief, he understates the difficulties of his own. For see how the matter stands. The conservative theory takes the documents as being, upon the whole, authentic. The Revolution answers that the state of public worship, during certain periods, is inconsistent with that view. But whatever is quoted as evidence to the contrary must be declared spurious and an interpolation, often without a shred of evidence except its inconvenience to the Revolution.

Joshua xxii. is a late figment in the interests of the Code, because it shows that an altar east of the Jordan awakened the fierce resentment of the tribes (pp. 37, 38). But this graphic and vital story may not be dismissed by the wave of a German hand; and Ewald had no notion of placing that "splendid picture" at so late a period, or ascribing it to so poor a motive (ii. 233).

King Hezekiah is said to have made an effort to abolish the high places; "but the attempt, having passed away without leaving any trace, is of a doubtful nature" (p. 25). "Little importance is to be attached" (p. 47) to a circumstance very difficult to invent, the taunt of Rabshakeh, "If thou say, We trust in the Lord our God: is not that He, whose high places and whose altars Hezekiah hath taken away, and hath said to Judah and to Jerusalem, Ye shall

worship before this altar in Jerusalem?" (2 Kings xviii. 22; Isa. xxxvi. 7.) The whole picture of this truculent lieutenant is evidently drawn from the life.

The denunciation of Jeroboam's altar by a prophet from Judah is an "unblushing example" of historical worthlessness (p. 285).

The prayer of Solomon is an invention (p. 274).

He passes unmentioned, as far as I can find, the remarkable question of Micah, which uses high places and transgressions as identical terms: "What is the transgression of Jacob? is it not Samaria? and what are the high places of Judah? are they not Jerusalem?" (Mic. i. 5.) And yet Micah is quoted again and again, as if his freedom of spirit implied ignorance of the Code.

Once more we ask, How shall we explain the whole tone of books admitted to belong to the post-exilian period, but which exhibit a spirit very different from the hardness and formality ascribed to that period by the theory? "From the exile there returned not the nation but a religious sect" (p. 28). The cultus in the olden time had resembled a green tree; now it is timber, artificially shaped and squared. "The sacrificial ordinances, as regards their positive contents, are no less completely ignored by antiquity than they are scrupulously followed by the post-exilian time" (p. 82).

What are we to think then of Zechariah? He is a writer of the period which followed upon the exile ("520 B.C.," p. 399), and he is quoted repeatedly as illustrating the tendencies of that epoch. But no account is made of the important fact that he is throughout and consistently a teacher, not of Levitical rigidity and formalism, but of something very like the freedom of the Gospel. There is no attempt to explain the strange fact that in him priesthood and royalty coincide (vi. 13), and the accursed race of Canaan is adopted and cleansed, so that the Philistine becomes "a chieftain in Judah" (ix. 7). This is very un-

like the supposed process of hardening and exclusion which characterized that period. It is argued to be sure that "in Zechariah the pots in the temple have a special sanctity (Zech. xiv. 20)" (p. 71). Alas! the meaning of Zechariah is not this, but flatly, diametrically, and demonstrably the reverse of this. His announcement is that the sanctity hitherto confined to certain vessels shall extend to all the vessels in the temple, and not only so, but to every pot in the land. And the sacred inscription upon the priests' mitre shall in that day be also "upon the bells of the horses, HOLY UNTO THE LORD." These horses are mentioned in connexion with the pilgrimage of Egyptians and other Gentiles to worship Jehovah. And all they that sacrifice shall come and take of these common vessels to seethe the consecrated meat in. The abolition of racial distinctions, so that there shall no more be a Canaanite in the house of the Lord, to profane it, the Philistine having become as a chieftain in Judah (ix. 7), and the consecration of "every pot in Jerusalem" as much as of an altar bowl, is the announcement of this passage, not the "special sanctity" of a few articles. And it is in truth a triumphant refutation of the notion that what once was free had then become hard and rigid, that the living branch was now converted into timber.

So is the book of Job. At the beginning of the poem, the patriarch offers sacrifices in obedience to his own pious instincts; he is the chief favourite of God; throughout his troubles no priest, no ritual, no centre of worship is hinted at; and at the end, when the sin of his friends must be expiated, they offer up their own burnt offerings; and he is accepted as their intercessor. But Job is a layman, a Gentile, a man of Uz, and all his worship is irregular. Let it be supposed that it were otherwise convenient to assign an early date to this remarkable work. What use could then be made of it? How could we be pressed with

the argument that at this period the law of Moses was obviously unheard of? In fact, there is scarcely a phenomenon conceivable, which would more completely refute the contention that freedom and elasticity vanished from religion with the captivity, than this book.

Lastly, what about the Psalms? They are "altogether the fruit of this period" (p. 501); that is to say, of the post-exilian time, when there was no longer a "nation, but a religious sect" (p. 28), when "what holiness required was not to do good, but to avoid sin," when "individualism was moulded into uniformity," when "a man saw that he was doing what was prescribed, and did not ask what was the use of it" (p. 500).

All this is so unlike the Psalter, that it becomes necessary to shade the picture down, and it is worth while to notice the change of tone, and also how short a way it goes toward meeting the necessities of the case. "The kernel did *not quite harden into wood* inside the shell; we must even acknowledge that moral sentiment gained very perceptibly in this period both in delicacy and in power. This also is connected with the fact that religion was not, as before, the custom of the people, but the work of the individual. A further consequence of this was that men began to reflect upon religion. The age in question saw the rise of the so-called 'Wisdom,' of which we possess examples in the Book of Job, in the Proverbs of Solomon and of the Son of Sirach, and in Ecclesiastes. . . . The Proverbs are remarkable in their pale generality only because they are of Jewish origin" (p. 501).

There is something wonderful in the dexterity with which these contradictions are shaded into a merely verbal harmony. On one page the routine of the temple is like a lullaby, hushing all individualism to sleep, teaching men to ask nothing more of themselves than mechanical obedience, so that "the ever-growing body of regulations



came to be felt as a sort of emancipation from self." In the next page, we are told that the kernel did not entirely harden; and this passes for a sufficient explanation of a vast literature, every line of which is a protest against the description which we have just read. It is then and thus that we are asked to believe that "individualism made religion more intense. This is seen strikingly in the Psalms, which are altogether the fruit of this period."

Was it then a religion which "was not the custom of the people but the work of the individual," which sang, "The Lord will bless His people with peace" (xxix. 11); "Be glad and rejoice, ye righteous" (xxxii. 11); "I have not concealed Thy lovingkindness from the great congregation" (xl. 10); "I went with the throng, . . . a multitude keeping holy-day" (xlii. 4); "Make a joyful noise unto God, all the earth" (lxvi. 1); "Let the peoples praise Thee, O God; let all the peoples praise Thee" (lxvii. 5)? Was it individualism which sang, "Bless ye God in the congregations, even the Lord, ye that are of the fountain of Israel: there is little Benjamin their ruler, the princes of Judah and their council, the princes of Zebulun, the princes of Naphtali" (lxviii. 26, 27)? Indeed there is nothing more notable than the adaptation of these ancient songs of what is said to be individualism grown intense to the congregational worship of the Christian Church.

Or can it be said that they betray the stiff legalism of the period? "Thou desirest not sacrifice, else would I give it" (li. 16). "I will praise the Lord with a song; . . . and it shall please the Lord better than an ox, than a bullock that hath horns and hoofs" (lxix. 30, 31). And we have already seen the installation of a Canaanite order in the priesthood by the oath of God (cx.).

Lastly, how far are they from merging the nation in the Church, or from the desperate and well-nigh hopeless nationality of the later time.

A king is set upon the holy hill of Zion, and the uttermost parts of the earth shall be his possession (ii. 6, 8) ; the enemies are beaten small as dust, and great deliverance is given to the king (xviii. 42, 50).

Sharp arrows are in the heart of the king's enemies ; all his garments are odorous ; stringed instruments out of ivory palaces gladden him ; his bride is all glorious ; the daughter of Tyre brings a gift ; the procession of virgins rejoices ; and her children shall be princes in all the earth (xlv.).

Again, the king shall have dominion from sea to sea ; the kings of Tarshish and of the isles, of Sheba and Seba, nay, all kings shall do him homage (lxxii.).

If it is only possible to remove the Psalms to the post-exilian period, at least it is only so on condition that there breathes through that epoch a fresh air, and stirs in it an exuberant energy and fulness of life, wholly inconsistent with the benumbing, ossifying, and petrifying spirit which is ascribed to it by theories like these.

G. A. CHADWICK.

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### THE EIGHTY-SEVENTH PSALM.

THE 86th Psalm, as we saw last month, is not one of the most original psalms, and yet no one but a spiritually enlightened man could have entwined such tender aspirations and sweetly humble petitions. To friends of missions the psalmist ought to be especially dear, for he has given us in the ninth verse one of the most distinct prophecies of the conversion of heathen nations. God, he assures his fellow worshippers, has made all nations of the world, and not merely the Israelites. Consequently there must be a kind of filial yearning after God in the minds of the heathen.

They are prodigal sons who have wandered far from their Father, but a day is coming when, as the 22nd Psalm says, "all the ends of the earth shall remember themselves, and return unto Jehovah." We cannot doubt what that day is, according to the intention of the psalmists. It is the day when in the fullest sense God shall take up His abode among men, and "judge" or rule the world in righteousness. And so in the Revelation of St. John, immediately before the seven last great plagues, the faithful who stand by the glassy sea, and sing the song of Moses and of the Lamb, remember and quote the words of the Hebrew psalmist.<sup>1</sup>

Not unfitly then did the editor of the third Book of the Psalms (Pss. lxxiii.-lxxxix.) place this psalm immediately before the 87th. It was a neglected work of great spiritual beauty which needed an honourable place in the temple-hymnbook, and so he not only called it a "prayer of David," but placed it between the 85th (like itself, a psalm in praise of lovingkindness<sup>2</sup>) and the 87th—the psalm of the catholic Church. Let us now pass on to the 87th Psalm, regarding it as an inspired poetic sketch of the happy results of the conversion of the nations.

The author of this brief but fascinating hymn is one of the temple-singers, who, devoted as he must be to his own class, looks forward with joy to the enlargement of the sacred choir by the admission of foreigners. This however is not the main subject of the psalm, though it forms a leading feature in the description. The idea which fills this holy minstrel with enthusiasm is the expansion of the Church of Israel into the Church universal. Just as the nation of Israel became transformed into the Jewish Church through the chastenings of the exile and the single-hearted devotion of the reformers Ezra and Nehemiah, so in time

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xv. 4.

<sup>2</sup> "Lovingkindness and truthfulness" occurs both in lxxxv. 10 and lxxxvi. 15.

to come the Church which arose out of a single nation should swell and grow till it embraced within its ample limits all that was capable of regeneration in the family of man. The psalmist was thoroughly penetrated with the great truths revealed through the Second Isaiah, who, though an admiring student—in Babylon—of the First Isaiah, had risen to heights of almost Christian insight far beyond the elder prophet.<sup>1</sup> Listen to these words uttered by the Second Isaiah in the name of Jehovah:

*“Fear not, O Jacob my servant; and thou, Jeshurun, whom I have chosen. For I will pour water upon the thirsty, and streams upon the dry ground: I will pour my spirit upon thy seed, and my blessing upon thine offspring: and they shall spring up among the grass, as willows by the watercourses. One shall say, I am Jehovah’s; and another shall proclaim the name of Jacob; and another shall write on his hand, Jehovah’s, and give for a title the name of Israel.”*<sup>2</sup>

Observe, it is not merely the natural “seed” of Jacob to which the outpouring of the Spirit in the latter days is promised, but the whole body of believers, increased by the accession of converts from heathenism. “God is able,” as our Lord told the Jews, “of these stones to raise up children unto Abraham.”<sup>3</sup> And since it is not permissible to efface altogether the distinction between poetry and prophecy—the psalms being historical documents and implying a certain historical situation—we must assume that an initial fulfilment of this and other prophecies had already taken place when our psalmist wrote. An accession of proselytes must already have gladdened Jewish believers, even if only on a small scale. It was a common Jewish saying in later times that a proselyte is like a new-born

<sup>1</sup> I put aside for the moment the disputed passage Isa. xix. 18–25.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xlv. 2–5. Comp. the preceding Study.

<sup>3</sup> Matt. iii. 9.



child, and our Lord alludes to this when he tells Nicodemus that "except a man be born anew, he cannot see the kingdom of God."<sup>1</sup> We find the germ of this noble phrase, so full of deep meaning to ourselves, in this old temple-hymn. Let us read the psalm. To readers who have not the key it is obscure. But to those who have already devoted some attention to the style of the psalms, and who have also a sympathy with the progressive elements in the Jewish Church, the forest-shades are pierced through and through by the rays of a sunnier sun.

*"His foundation on the holy mountains,  
The gates of Zion Jehovah loveth  
More than all the dwellings of Jacob."*

So far the psalm might have been written in the days of Josiah, who first fully carried out the principles of the great prophets by centralizing the worship of Jehovah at Jerusalem. To this most pious king, as the instrument of God's purposes, we are indebted for that spirit of fervent love for the house of God which breathes in so many of the finest psalms. The psalmist continues,—

*"Glorious things are spoken of thee,  
Thou city of God,"*

*viz.* by the prophets, such as Jeremiah and the two Isaiahs, especially the later Isaiah, from whom I have quoted one striking passage already. Then Jehovah Himself is introduced, making a solemn declaration respecting five important nations well known to the Jews. A prophetic excitement runs through the words which embody it, and renders them obscure.

*"Rahab and Babylon I mention among them that know me;  
Behold, Philistia and Tyre with Ethiopia—  
Each one was born there!  
And concerning Zion it shall be said,*

<sup>1</sup> John iii. 3. The Septuagint begins ver. 5 differently from our text, *Μήτηρ Σιών ἐπεὶ ἀνθρώπος*, on which Theodoret compares Gal. iv. 26.

*'Each and every one was born in her,'  
And he, the Most High, shall stablish her.  
Jehovah shall reckon, when he registers the people,  
'Each one was born there.'"*

Rahab, as all agree, means "pride," a name given by both Isaiahs to Egypt. Babylon is either Chaldæa, or some one of the nations which succeeded to its imperial position. "Them that know me," means "them that have entered into covenant with me"; only those can know God to whom He reveals Himself by a special covenant. "Each one was born there," in ver. 4, means each of the five nations mentioned just before. Then comes the climax in ver. 5. In the preceding verse the nations are regarded as unities, but in ver. 5 we catch a whisper of the individualizing conception of religion hinted at by Jeremiah and thoroughly expounded in the Gospel. The most glorious thing which has been spoken of the city of God (viz. by the two Isaiahs) is that there is neither Egypt nor Babylon, nor even Israel, in the great catholic Church of the future, but that of each Egyptian and Babylonian it can be said that he was regenerated or born into a new life in Zion.

There are two prophetic passages which illustrate this. One is at the end of the 19th chapter of Isaiah (vers. 24, 25):

*"In that day shall Israel be the third with Egypt and with Assyria, a blessing in the midst of the earth: for that Jehovah of hosts hath blessed them, saying, Blessed be Egypt my people, and Assyria the work of my hands, and Israel mine inheritance."*

The other is in the Second Isaiah, in chap. xlv. 14,—

*"Thus saith Jehovah, The gains of Egypt, and the merchandise of Ethiopia, and the Sabeans, men of stature, shall come over to thee, and they shall be thine; . . . they shall fall down unto thee, they shall make supplication unto thee, (saying,) Surely, God is in thee; and there is none else, there is no God."*

These passages show that it was not a sudden lightning flash which irradiated the psalmist's mind; his insight was due to the blessing of God upon a long-continued and, if I may say so, critical study of the Scriptures. The Holy Spirit had sharpened this early saint's perceptions; he passed over all those passages in which Israel from a spiritual point of view is put too high and the other nations too low, and singled out those of purest and noblest intuitions, which anticipate all but the most advanced evangelical truth. And may we not, must we not, believe—that the same blessing is waiting for us, if we will only search the Scriptures with an earnestness and a disposition to take trouble equal to that of the psalmist and his fellows? “Be very confident that the Lord has yet more light and truth to break out of His holy word”—are the words of a Nonconformist, in the old, sad days of persecution, but they are echoed by one whom all Churches and sects delight to honour, and who once ministered in my own venerable cathedral, Bishop Butler, the author of the *Analogy*.

The psalmist's insight was not perfect. Though he lived six hundred years after David, he still retained a shred of the old narrow nationalism, which for so many centuries enveloped and protected the germ of higher truth. He was still subject to one of those illusions by which God in all ages has educated His disciples, and which, by His providence, He at last safely and tenderly dispels. Few even of the psalmists could as yet have borne those far-reaching words of Christ, “The hour cometh when neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, shall ye worship the Father.”<sup>1</sup> Much less could the few proselytes who felt the attraction of the holy revelation of Jehovah have entered into a saying so totally opposed to the accepted ideas of

<sup>1</sup> John iv. 21. There were probably a few who were reaching out after this great truth (see Studies on Psalms xxiv. and lxiii.), but our psalmist was less advanced than they.

the whole non-Jewish world. A visible centre of the true religion both seemed and was necessary, so long as truth was but as a stranger and pilgrim in this lower world; nay, have we not seen that, while the forces of evil predominated greatly over the good, a similar religious centre was providentially given to the mediæval Western Church? But God was already preparing both the Jewish Church and its proselytes to do without this centre. Already synagogues had arisen—places for prayer and reading the Scriptures, which were the true predecessors of our Christian churches. And already that excessive regard for sacrifices as the only correct form of public worship was being greatly reduced by the new love for the Scriptures and for prayer—in the Second Isaiah we even find that great saying, endorsed by the Teacher of teachers, “My house shall be called (not a house of sacrifice, but) a house of prayer for all nations.”<sup>1</sup> So that even though the temple remained pre-eminently sacred, yet its sacredness was in some sense shared by each of those scattered houses and riverside oratories where “prayer was wont to be made.”<sup>2</sup>

But consider what faith it implied in these men of alien races to come to the puny mountain of Zion for religious instruction, and to recognise its temple as the most sacred spot upon the earth! We do not hear as much about faith in the Old Testament as in the New. But if any sacred books, or even psalms, had been specially written for proselytes, we should no doubt have found in them much kindly recognition of those heroes of faith. Later Jewish doctors admitted that Abraham their father himself was but the first of the proselytes, and who knows not those noble verses in the Epistle to the Hebrews which throw such a flood of light on the spiritual import of Abraham’s migrations?—

*“By faith Abraham, when he was called, . . . went*

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lvi. 7.

<sup>2</sup> Acts xvi. 13.



*out, not knowing whither he went. By faith he became a sojourner in the land of promise, as in a land not his own."*<sup>1</sup>

It was just such faith when the converts from the heathen nations broke the countless ties which bound them to great and ancient religions and became the humble disciples of a poor and lowly Israelite. And what was it that made Jerusalem, in the days between Ezra and our Lord, the spiritual capital of a Church that already began to be catholic? It was a simple yet fervent doctrine of God, supported by a few great but simple historical facts. If we, reading the psalms, which are the best historical documents we have of Jewish religion after the captivity, are inexpressibly moved by the combined sweetness and power of the spirit which breathes in them, how much more must those prepared minds among the heathen which saw Jewish religion in action, have been drawn towards it as by invisible cords? The doctrine without the facts would never have attracted them. Grand as is the conception of God, the Almighty, the Allwise Creator, in the Second Isaiah, it is rather fitted to depress than to encourage, without the attendant assurance of the call of Israel to be God's favoured servant. If we could see God even afar off in that awful greatness revealed to us in the 40th chapter of Isaiah, "the spirit would fail before Him, and the souls that He hath made."<sup>2</sup> But when the prophet adds to this revelation of God as the Creator, that of Jehovah who hath "called his servant Israel in righteousness," and will "hold his hand, and keep him," and will "set him for a light of the nations, to become God's salvation unto the ends of the earth,"<sup>3</sup> then a strange new feeling of reverent love comes upon the sympathetic reader. And so must it have been in antiquity. Awe at the infinite power of Israel's holy God must have become softened into humble filial trust. And if we turn back to that passage in the Second Isaiah which

<sup>1</sup> Heb. xi. 8, 9.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. lvii. 16.

<sup>3</sup> Isa. xlii. 6, xlix. 6.

I quoted before, we find that the Gentile converts who at first fall down before Israel with the half-superstitious prayer, "Surely God is in thee," rise in the next verse to the perception that the one true God, the Almighty, is also a Saviour, able and willing to deliver those who put their trust in Him.<sup>1</sup>

But there is a still higher interest attaching to this beautiful psalm. It is not only a historical document, illustrating the progress of our mother the Jewish Church, it is a virtual prophecy—more strictly, it is a lyric reflexion of earlier prophetic pictures—of the Church of the latter days. It foreshadows the gradual expansion of the original Jewish Christian Church into a catholic Church of many divers races, fraternally united in Jesus Christ. "*For there is no distinction between Jew and Greek: for the same Lord is Lord of all, and is rich unto all that call upon him: for, Whosoever shall call upon the name of the Lord shall be saved.*"<sup>2</sup> These are the words of an apostle of Christ. They are anticipated by the prophets and by the psalmists. Yes; there is a germ, though only a germ, in our psalm of the conception of corporate and yet personal union with Christ which we find in St. Paul. Each of the five foreign nations spoken of in ver. 4 were, or should be, born again, says the psalm, to a higher life in and through Zion. But in the next verse we are told that besides this each member of these several nations should, in his individual capacity, be born again in and through Zion. This brings us, as I have said, very close to the declaration of Christ to Nicodemus, and it suggests that the true theory of the Church had already loomed on the horizon of this Hebrew saint. Only those who have themselves laid hold on the Saviour can unite together in the Church of the redeemed. In short, we receive the grace of the Spirit, as individual human beings, and not in virtue of belonging to a nation or to a

<sup>1</sup> Isa. xlv. 14, 15.

<sup>2</sup> Rom. x. 12, 13.

Church by the accident of birth. How all-important this truth is! A great preacher, of long experience, especially among the educated classes, has said, that "there are men who are tossed all their lives on a sea of misgiving and perplexity, for want of a real new birth."<sup>1</sup> Nominally indeed we are all "children of the kingdom," but really, unless we live and act as citizens of Zion, how can it be said of us that we have been "born there"? "*That which is born of the flesh is flesh, and that which is born of the Spirit is spirit.*" There is a fleshly, natural religion, and there is a spiritual, supernatural religion; and unless we know in an increasing degree what this latter means, it is only too doubtful whether we have ever really been born in Zion. And if any one refers me to the psalmist in justification of his want of assurance on this point, I reply that the psalmist's words on Jehovah's registering of the regenerate ought to be supplemented by those which I have quoted from the Second Isaiah, who distinctly says, that the proof that we are of the spiritual Israel is given by ourselves. "*One shall say, 'I am Jehovah's,' and another shall even (as a willing slave) write upon his hand, 'Jehovah's.'*" In other words, he whose one aim in life is to obey God's law from love and in the strength of the Spirit of Christ may be sure that He who registers both nations and individuals will say, when "the books are opened," This man was born there. Let us each ask ourselves therefore, Is this my single aim? Do I serve God from love, or—which is the germ of this happy state,—earnestly and constantly desire to do so? If it is, what should make me afraid?

"To love Thee, Saviour, is to be  
Cheerful and brave and strong and free,  
Calm as a rock 'mid striving seas,  
Certain 'mid all uncertainties."<sup>2</sup>

I have said that the true theory of the Church had

<sup>1</sup> Dean Vaughan.

<sup>2</sup> Miss Macready, *Devotional Lays*.

loomed on the horizon of the psalmist. Certainly the idea which he had formed of it was not a logically accurate one. The order of vers. 4 and 5 suggests that nations are in some sense brought into the city of God before individuals. This is in accordance with the religious development of ancient Israel, in which the corporate sense of spiritual life preceded the individual. The normal course in evangelical Christendom is different. We are saved as individuals, but our salvation is incomplete until we share a common and united life with our brethren. Indeed, the very first impulse of the saved soul is to seek the society of those who have been "in Christ" before him. They have need of him, and he has even more need of them. Such is God's appointment. "He that findeth his life shall lose it." Not individual but social happiness is the end set before us by our Redeemer—social happiness which cannot be complete as long as one of our fellow men is a stranger to it, or seeks it in false ways—social happiness which means the combination of all God's human children in the delighted service of their heavenly Father. And of this combined life the natural type is the city. A Hebrew psalmist may speak of Jerusalem as the type, but this is only because the capital of the post-exile Church seemed to him, by a pardonable illusion, to be a model city, and because he knew that Jerusalem (that is, the Church which dwelt there) was, for the good of the world, as "the apple of the eye" to Jehovah.<sup>1</sup> Long afterwards, a saintly non-Christian philosopher (M. Aurelius) speaks in full sympathy with prophets and apostles, of the world itself as the city of God—he too had learned that the object for which man was made was that social life of mutual help and common obedience to the laws of God, of which the city is the type.

"Glorious things are spoken of thee, thou city of God," says our psalmist. It is God's own "foundation upon

<sup>1</sup> Zech. ii. 8.



the holy mountains." Jerusalem's girdle of hills is to his sharpened perceptions a symbol of the heavenly heights, and of that love-directed strength which is more durable than the heaven itself. But the glory of Zion would be incomplete, unless the "city of God" were also the city of the world. Not that all individuality is to be crushed out of the non-Jewish nations, any more than we desire this for the infant Churches of India and Africa for which English lives have been so freely spent. National differences are to continue in the "city of God," but these differences will cease to be divisive; the union of the federated peoples is to be not less close than that of the several quarters of the "well-compacted" city—Jerusalem.<sup>1</sup> In short, the Catholic Church is to become identical with that human race for which in due time Christ died, and the primary work both of the national Churches and of each of their members is so to commend the principles of the city of God, that every child of man may eagerly embrace the new citizenship.

Is the task hard? Too hard indeed it is for human strength; not the greatest of political philosophers has been able to counteract sin, and devise a perfect, moral city-life. Feeling this, noble-minded dreamers have bidden us return to nature, and make it our aim to restore the idyllic conditions of the garden of Eden. But we "have not so learned Christ." He has called us to shrink from no task because it is hard, for "*I am with you*," saith He, "*all the days*" (words of sweetest comfort for tired workers); that is, "I am the master-builder of the new Jerusalem." In remote antiquity (said a Greek myth, true in idea, if not in fact) the walls of the city of Thebes rose to the divine music

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Rev. xxi. 3, "Behold, the tabernacle of God is with men, and he shall tabernacle with them, and they shall be *his peoples*"; and ver. 24, "And the *nations* shall walk amidst the light thereof" (*viz.* of the holy city). See Revised Version.

of Orpheus. But "our highest Orpheus" (as an English prophet of the latter days has finely said) "walked in Judæa, eighteen-hundred years ago: his sphere-melody, flowing in wild native tones, took captive the ravished souls of men."<sup>1</sup>

"A simple reed by Syrian waters found  
From human lips took a celestial sound:  
Through it strange melodies our Shepherd blew,  
And wondering, wistful ones around Him drew.

Of heavenly love, with cadence deep it told,  
Of labours long to win them to the fold,  
Of bleeding feet upon the mountains steep,  
And life laid down to save the erring sheep.

O loving Shepherd, to that gracious strain  
We listen and we listen once again;  
And while its music sinks into our heart,  
Our fears grow fainter and our doubts depart."<sup>2</sup>

Gracious strain, indeed! Without it, how should the "prisoned soul" burst the bonds of sin and fly to join other kindred spirits in building up the fair city of God? But, as our English prophet says again, "being of a truth sphere-melody, (it) still flows and sounds, though now with thousandfold accompaniments, and rich symphonies, through all our hearts; and modulates, and divinely leads them." And though, if we look at its performance, that union of Christian hearts which we call the Church has produced comparatively little that is worthy of the supernatural glory of its origin, yet, if we look at its promise with eyes sharpened by the Spirit of Christ, we can discern, underneath the pettiness, and the prejudice, and the folly, and even the sin, which mar the Church's record, bright gleams and sometimes as it were tropical outbursts of heavenly light and love which are the reflexion of the gates of pearl and the golden streets. The seer of Patmos

<sup>1</sup> Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*, bk. iii., chap. viii.

<sup>2</sup> Wilton, *Lyrics Sylvan and Sacred*.

"saw the holy city Jerusalem coming down new out of heaven."<sup>1</sup> This is a form of expression highly characteristic of Hebrew idealism. We perhaps may with equal justice think of the new Jerusalem as fashioned in the course of the ages upon this our earth, and then, for its "perfect consummation and bliss," transported into that ideal world, where the boldest aspirations are the most fully realized and the strongest faith receives the largest reward. Just as we say that Christ's Church must, in spite of appearances, possess unity, because He asked for it, so we must believe that the City of which the Church is, under Christ, the builder is growing in heavenliness as the years roll on, and that we are surely and swiftly moving towards that great dedication-festival, when, in the words of the psalmists, we shall "sing unto the Lord a new song,"<sup>2</sup> and when,—

*"They that sing as well as they that dance (shall say),  
All my fountains (of life, and joy, and peace) are in thee  
(O Zion)."*<sup>3</sup>

Then shall we indeed, according to that fine primitive use of the phrase, celebrate our true "birthday," wherein we, with "the nations of them that are saved," shall be delivered for ever from temptation and sin and sorrow, and be "born again" into the perfect life.

T. K. CHEYNE.

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DR. HATCH'S "ESSAYS IN BIBLICAL GREEK."

WHATEVER differences of opinion there may be as to the value of Dr. Hatch's contributions to ecclesiastical history, there is likely to be none as to the value of this contribution to biblical scholarship. The book, indeed, has a certain

<sup>1</sup> Rev. xxi. 2 (R.V. marg.). <sup>2</sup> Ps. xcvi. 1; cf. Rev. v. 9. <sup>3</sup> Ps. lxxxvii. 7, R.V.

incompleteness of form, explained by its consisting, as we are told it does, of the substance of the author's Grinfield Lectures on the LXX; it is hardly one book, but seven "essays" on separate though kindred subjects. Sometimes, however, we perceive a certain connexion and progress, even between one essay and another; and in all or nearly all severally the matter is most valuable, the method most thorough and scholarly, and the results always suggestive, even if they are not, or do not claim to be, final.

Perhaps the author at the outset somewhat overstates the extent to which the study of biblical Greek has been hitherto neglected. But it would be hard to name any yet existing work in which that language is studied on so thoroughly sound a method as here—with so impartial a view of the conditions, and by means of inductions so rigid and scientific. Of course, it is no novelty to recognise that biblical Greek is a form, not of the classical Attic, but of the *κοινή* or Hellenic dialect; and, again, that a larger or smaller "Hebraistic" element has been introduced into it: partly by the very nature of the LXX as a translation from the Hebrew, and by the influence of that translation on the writers of the New Testament; partly also by the fact that the writers both of the LXX and of the New Testament were Jews and thought as Jews, even when they wrote and perhaps thought in Greek. But the novelty is, to meet with a writer who not only recognises these facts—not only feels their proportionate importance—but is able to trace in detail the varying extent to which each influence prevails.

Of the seven essays, the two that open the widest prospect of advancement of critical science are the fourth, "On Early Quotations from the LXX," and the sixth, "On Origen's Revision of the LXX Text of Job,"—or rather, in fact, "On the LXX Text of Job before Origen's Revision." The former encourages the hope that materials



not wholly inadequate exist for retracing the history of the LXX text to a time not far from its origin; the latter shows that the LXX text, if once critically reconstructed, is likely to throw light of incalculable importance on the criticism of its Hebrew original. It is to be hoped that these promises will not prove delusive; that the scholars of this generation and the next will utilize the materials, the value whereof is pointed out here. All Dr. Hatch's readers will join in the further hope, that he himself may be able to take a leading part in the work.

May we here venture to point out, that Dr. Hatch makes his theory of the textual history of Job needlessly startling, and weights it with a needless difficulty, by one sentence near the close of his essay?

In the analysis (such it is, rather than a table of contents) he suggests, and regards the facts as confirming, the hypothesis "that the existing Hebrew text is itself the expansion of an originally shorter text, and that the original LXX text corresponded to the original Hebrew." But it is not a necessary part of this hypothesis, that it was "in the interval between the original" [so-called LXX] "translation and that of Theodotion" that "large additions were made to the" [Hebrew] "text by a poet whose imaginative power was at least not inferior to that of the original writer." All that need be assumed, as regards the date of "the interval between the original translation and that of Theodotion" is, that no text of Job was then officially recognised as canonical; that, if it be true that the book was written in a shorter form, and afterwards expanded, both the shorter and the longer edition—perhaps more than one form of the longer—were co-ordinately current: not that the longer Hebrew text dates from so late a period.

It seems indeed presumptuous for any one to offer a correction of any of Dr. Hatch's theories who has not

studied the subject with some approach to thoroughness like his own. But if it be a critic's business to criticise, the least satisfactory of the essays is the fifth, "On Composite Quotations from the LXX." The theory proposed, "that collections of excerpts from the Old Testament" were "in existence among the Greek-speaking Jews of the dispersion," and that Christian writers, canonical and other, sometimes quoted from these rather than from the Bible at first hand, is no doubt a possible one; and it perhaps derives some confirmation from the way that both St. Paul and St. Justin quote Psalm xiv. (xiii.) in a form expanded by a cento of texts from other psalms and prophecies. But the case is not adequately stated, when no notice is taken of the other possible explanation of the facts: that Justin derived his expanded version of the psalm, not from a common source with St. Paul, but from St. Paul himself. What is here a possible view, deserving discussion if not assent, is in another case decidedly probable—it is the view in possession. Both the Roman and the Alexandrian Clement quote continuously a cento of verses from three psalms; the Roman has quoted two other texts immediately before, but *not* continuously with these, while the Alexandrian quotes them all as continuous. Every one except Dr. Hatch infers that the Alexandrian borrowed the quotations from the Roman.

Dr. Hatch tells us, in fact, in his preface, that he "has abstained from a discussion of the views which have been already advanced, . . . because he thinks that in biblical philology, even more than in other subjects, it is desirable for a student in the present generation to investigate the facts for himself, uninfluenced by the bias which necessarily arises from the study of existing opinions." Surely this is a mistake, and one which was the source of the irritation produced by some of the author's earlier works. No wise man is provoked, when a competent student draws from

the facts inferences inconsistent with "the views that have been already advanced"; but competent students who hold those views, and think the evidence justifies them, are provoked, when the propounder of the new theory calmly "abstains from a discussion of" them. And indeed there is a danger to the author himself of something more than missing the favourable reception that he might deserve. It is practically impossible to carry the "investigation of facts" far, without colligating them by an at least provisional hypothesis: and a "bias arises" (if indeed that be a mode of motion proper to biases) far more "necessarily," if the only hypothesis available be the investigator's own, than if he feels free to use one supplied by "the study of existing opinion."

But we have done with the ungracious task of faultfinding. To the average student, who knows enough to learn from Dr. Hatch, but not enough to criticise, hardly enough to develop his teaching, the most interesting and useful of the essays will be the second, "Short Studies of the Meanings of Words in Biblical Greek," and, in a hardly less degree, the third, "On Psychological Terms in Biblical Greek." The latter is a welcome blow in behalf of the freedom of the many who can read St. Paul from dependence on the few who can read Philo—a scientific proof that St. Paul used psychological terms, as Matthew Arnold used to say, in a literary not a scientific manner. Of the former, the method is to establish, from the Hebrew words which a Greek word is used to represent by the LXX and other translators, what was its sense in biblical Greek; and then to apply the result to the exegesis of passages where it is used in the New Testament.

Every reader must find this essay eminently instructive and suggestive; but the value of the different "Short Studies" differs widely. Perhaps it may be said that to its merit, in establishing certain real but unobvious mean-

ings of words in biblical Greek, there is a certain set-off in the writer's inclination to narrow the general use of the word to the meaning which he has discovered. Thus we see the method at its best, when all the New Testament uses of ἀρετή, with perhaps one exception, are cleared up by the proof that in the LXX the word practically means "glory." Still more valuable is the light thrown on Matthew vi. 19-24, when it is proved from the Son of Sirach that πονηρός may mean "niggardly": as ἀπλοῦς may certainly mean "liberal," the antithesis in the 22nd and 23rd verses, and the connexion with the preceding and following, are cleared up at once. But one wishes it had not been attempted to narrow the sense of πονηρός to the same meaning "niggardly" in Matthew vii. 11, or to the (equally real) sense of "hurtful" in v. 39, vi. 13, etc.

Again, it is only giving us "glimpses of the obvious" to prove that πειράζω and πειρασμός are used of "trials" in the sense of affliction, both in the LXX and in the New Testament. But truism passes into paradox, when we are told that "the meaning, the existence of which is thus established by evident instances, will be found more appropriate than any other in instances where the meaning does not lie on the surface": these instances being Matthew vi. 13, Luke xi. 4 (the Lord's Prayer), and Matthew iv. 1, Mark i. 13, Luke iv. 2, πειρασθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ διαβόλου, "to be tried," i.e. afflicted, "by the devil." It is no doubt true, that in Hebrews iv. 15 (still more in ii. 18), the notion of affliction is by no means absent. But no one ever supposed that the senses of "trial" and "temptation," as we distinguish the words in modern English, were kept distinct in biblical or ecclesiastical language: they pass one into the other in these passages; and so they do in common Christian language, at least as late as the *De Imitatione*. Dr. Hatch does not quote, as he might, James i. 2, 12, as an example of the sense of "trial," but surely



in ver. 13 the sense of "temptation" is almost exclusively dominant.

It is a contribution to the exegesis of Matthew vi. 1 to prove that in the LXX *δικαιοσύνη* and *ἐλεημοσύνη* are often used as interchangeable. But it is surely rash to say that "this meaning of *δικαιοσύνη* is clear," *l.c.* : it is a quite possible reading of the passage, that we first are warned against making display of "righteousness," good works in general; and that afterwards the principle is applied in detail to the special good works of alms, fasting, and prayer.

WILLIAM HENRY SIMCOX.

### THE COMPOSITION OF THE SYNOPTICAL GOSPELS: A REPLY.

LIKE all the readers of THE EXPOSITOR—possibly, indeed, more than any of them—I have read with keen interest Mr. Plummer's article published in the July number of this year, in which that scholar attempts to throw light on the obscure question of the origin of the synoptic gospels from the mode of composition and the mutual relationship of certain mediæval documents.

The object of the writer in drawing this comparison has been to refute certain objections raised by me to the way in which most critics in our day explain the striking relations of harmony and of discrepancy which exist between the writings of the different evangelists.

I had maintained<sup>1</sup> that the conduct of the evangelists, as represented by those critics who consider that two of them copied the third, or that one copied the other two, sometimes literally, sometimes more freely, and with greater or slighter modification of the narrative of their predecessors, was in accordance neither with the good sense

<sup>1</sup> *Commentary on S. Luke.* 3rd edition, 1888, 1889

nor the good faith which one must take for granted in such men. Like Mr. Plummer himself, I left entirely out of sight the question of inspiration. But Mr. Plummer shows that there existed between the narratives of the ancient mediæval chronicles relations exactly analogous to those which present-day criticism supposes to have existed between the synoptists, while at the same time it is impossible to accuse the authors of these chronicles either of want of good sense or of good faith. Thus my argument against the theory of the mutual dependence of the synoptists falls to the ground.

Nothing, indeed, could be more interesting than the comparison which this writer draws between the four narratives (1) of Salisbury, (2) of the anonymous author of the work entitled the *Passion* (two independent sources); (3) of Benedict, (4) of Hoveden (both of which are taken from these sources),—the subject being the return of Archbishop Thomas Becket and the penance of Henry II. during his visit to Becket's tomb. The two former (Salisbury and the *Passion*), on the authority of which Benedict wrote, correspond to the two sources of our canonical Gospel of St. Matthew; the fourth, Hoveden, who evidently made use of the work both of Benedict and of the *Passion*, corresponds to Luke, who edited his gospel from the second source of Matthew and from Matthew himself.

Mr. Plummer quotes also the account which Hoveden gives of the Constitutions of William the Conqueror. We do not indeed possess a second copy of this official document, with which to compare the other. But Mr. Plummer believes he can prove by internal evidence that Hoveden did not hesitate to modify in various respects the authentic text of this public act; by substituting, for instance, the direct mode of address for the indirect, or by introducing instead of the simple "I" the regal plural "we," which was certainly not in use at the time of the Conquest.

“Changes,” says Mr. Plummer, “may be made more or less unconsciously by a perfectly honest and scrupulous writer.” Why then should a similar mode of procedure be considered as contrary to good faith or to good sense in the evangelists, if we should chance to find it employed by them?

I recognise the accuracy of the facts brought forward by Mr. Plummer; but what I am disposed to question is, whether the analogy which these facts present to those which we find in the relations between the synoptists is sufficiently complete to authorize us in drawing conclusions founded on the mode of composition employed by the latter.

I would, first of all, direct the attention of the readers of *THE EXPOSITOR* to the fundamental difference between the matters treated of in the two classes of writing which we are comparing. The narratives contained in the mediæval chronicles deal with facts which are interesting, no doubt, but which have no direct bearing on the vital questions of human existence. We can thus readily understand that a later writer, while remaining faithful in the main to the account of his predecessor, may have felt no scruple in altering the form of the earlier narrative in passages where it appeared to him that a clearer or more picturesque expression would be more likely to strike the attention of the reader. The case is somewhat different when a narrative bears, as that of the evangelists does, on the most serious of all questions for men, the question of salvation.

The narrative of the gospel deals with the acts and words of the Son of God, who appeared here on earth to accomplish a work of unique grandeur, sanctity, and importance. The chronicler who recounts the acts of a guilty and penitent king before the tomb of his victim may, if he will, describe them according to ideas of his own, may even put into the king's mouth words somewhat different from these which his authority furnishes. That is a matter of no

importance to any one. But when the mission of a writer is to relate the speeches and actions of the Lord of glory during His sojourn on earth, he has undertaken a task which imposes a stricter obligation. No interest, whether external or literary, can in that case lessen his duty of observing the strictest fidelity. The only changes which we could admit to be possible would be those which the narrator might introduce on the authority of another document in his possession, which he considers more trustworthy than the writing which he elsewhere reproduces. But a purely arbitrary modification in dealing with such a subject appears to me impossible.

Let us take an instance. Is it credible that Matthew, borrowing from the narrative of Mark the parable of the sower, should have said to himself on reading these words (Mark iv. 8), "Some thirty, and some sixty, and some a hundred-fold," "I prefer to invert the order, and to say, 'some a hundred-fold, some sixty-fold, and some thirty-fold'" (Matt. xiii. 8)? Or again, is it probable that Luke, reproducing the same parable from the account either of Matthew or of Mark, or perhaps from both, should have thought: "I do not care either for the ascending or the descending scale; I shall mention only the highest figure, and write 'a hundred-fold'" (Luke viii. 8)? Again, is it likely that a little farther on he should have voluntarily suppressed altogether this last feature in the explanation given by Jesus, while the two other evangelists reproduce it in its entirety (ver. 15)?

The more trifling these alterations are, the more do they appear to be the result of a caprice which we cannot admit as possible in a serious writer, anxious to preserve the exact words of the Lord.

This example, as every one knows, is but one among a thousand. There is not a page of the synoptists which does not present similar instances. The perfect insignificance



of such alterations, which makes them readily admissible in a chronicle intended only for amusement, gives them a puerile, a ridiculous, almost a profane character in connexion with so grave a subject as the life and sayings of Christ.

On the other hand, when the discrepancies affect facts, or even the meaning of words, it is still less possible to regard them as voluntarily made; for the simple reason that in that case they would contradict the good faith, or rather the faith itself, of the writer. "Blessed are the poor," says Luke (vi. 20), and the antithesis which follows ("the rich," ver. 24), shows clearly that he understands the word "poor" in a literal sense. "Blessed are the poor in heart," says Matthew, quoting the same words (v. 3). "Take nothing for your journey, save a staff only," we read in Mark (vi. 8). Take nothing, "neither two coats, neither sandals, nor yet staves," is the rendering of Matthew (x. 10) and Luke (x. 4). In Matthew (xxiii. 27) Jesus thus applies the image of whited sepulchres, to which He compares the Pharisees: We admire their beautiful exterior; but when we think of the inward character of these men, we are filled with loathing. In Luke (xi. 44) the application is made in this sense: Beholding how beautiful they are outwardly, we are not on our guard against a stain which threatens us, till we are all at once infected with the pride and hypocrisy which fill these men. Did one of the evangelists mean to correct the other? did he even presume to correct our Lord? Compare again the form of the Lord's prayer (Luke xi. 2-4) in the Revised Version, with the form which we have in Matthew vi. 9-13. The first evangelist represents our Lord as saying, "Pray after this manner," and his copyist would have us to pray differently!

These, again, are only a few examples chosen out from many. Similar modifications are to be found in the narration of facts. Matthew represents the centurion of Capernaum

as coming in person (viii. 5) to beseech our Lord to heal his servant; according to Luke he sends a deputation, making the excuse that he did not dare to come himself (vii. 6, 7). Where Matthew mentions two demoniacs, two blind men, Mark and Luke speak of one only. An event which Matthew places on the same day as that which preceded it (xii. 9) is distinctly alluded to by Luke as having taken place *on another Sabbath* (vi. 6). The expulsion of the sellers from the Temple, placed by Matthew and Luke on Palm Sunday, is represented by Mark as taking place on the following day, etc., etc.

If one of the evangelists copies the other, how then, in these instances and in many others, does he regard the narrative of his predecessor? If he alters it according to his own ideas, that speaks badly for his good faith. If he follows another document rather than that of his predecessor, this seems to suggest that his own belief in the latter was wavering. In any case, we are here confronted with phenomena absolutely different from those presented by the ancient chronicles quoted by Mr. Plummer. I, at least, have been able to discover nothing in the discrepancies mentioned by him which resembles those I have just brought forward.

It will be asked, how, if the scrupulous respect which I have supposed for the exact reproduction of the words and acts of the Lord really existed at the epoch of the primitive Church, such discrepancies have found their way into the gospel narratives. It is, one might say, under the domination of our false ideas of inspiration that our present habit of minute verbal accuracy has arisen.

But let us leave the question of inspiration out of sight altogether. From my point of view, it has as little to do with my argument as with that of Mr. Plummer. The essential point is, that we should remember the wide dif-

ference which exists between transmission by means of oral tradition and that which has been derived from a written document. The changes which take place in the former method are slow, involuntary, unconscious; while the writer who alters a definite written text which he has before his eyes must do so deliberately and knowingly. Either (1) he possesses another text which he considers preferable; or (2) he has some interest in altering the narrative, and wilfully deceives the reader; or (3) he considers the changes introduced by him into the text he employs as a mere matter of form. The alterations which Mr. Plummer supposes to have been introduced by Hoveden into the text of the Constitutions of William the Conqueror are of the third description. But not one of these suppositions is admissible in the case of the synoptists. The first, although possible, is exceedingly improbable; the second is clearly inadmissible; the third does not correspond with the facts before us as regards the discrepancies, much more serious than mere shades of style, which are found in the synoptic narratives.

We must therefore conclude that these striking differences are modifications introduced naturally and involuntarily in oral transmission; we must renounce the theory that the evangelists wrote in dependence on each other. Analogies borrowed from mediæval chronicles either bear upon subjects too remote from those of the gospels, or are themselves of too superficial a character to weaken in any degree our critical conclusions as regards the synoptists.

I conclude with these words of Reuss, a scholar whose principles are not opposed to the idea of a mutual dependence of the synoptists. After considering the relations between Matthew and Luke, he concludes as follows:<sup>1</sup> "Our first gospel was not one of the works which Luke says he had at his disposal in composing his own." Agreed. But as the same phenomena re-appear in the relations

<sup>1</sup> "The Bible": *Evangelical History*, p. 48.

between the account of Mark and those of Matthew and Luke, consistency required that Reuss should have gone on to admit, as I feel constrained to do, that the three synop-  
tists wrote in perfect independence of one another.

F. GODET.

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### RECENT LITERATURE ON THE OLD TESTAMENT.

A SINGLE phrase sums up the tendency of most of the recent German literature on the Old Testament—in the wake of Wellhausen. The drift, even of very conservative scholars, towards the position to which he carried the conclusions of Graf with so brilliant a sweep is unmistakable, and is all the more significant, that it has continued to be so strong since he himself, forsaking Hebrew for Arabic, ceased to contribute to it. The displacement he caused was large, and how real has been proved by its power to disturb even such critics as might have been thought to have taken up their final moorings. Though there may be none of these who will follow Wellhausen all his way, there are also none who have not been carried considerably nearer to him, and are now reconsidering from the new standpoint their former statements of the history and religion of Israel. It is too late in the day to review Delitzsch's changes in this respect, the second volume of whose commentary on *Genesis*, translated by Sophia Taylor, forms part of the first issue for 1889 of Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library. But we may give some account of two volumes just published, which are interesting above all for the attitude of their writers to Wellhausen's principles. These are Baudissin's *Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priesterthums*, and the fourth edition of Schultz's *Alttestamentliche Theologie*.

Count Baudissin's researches into the history of the Old



Testament priesthood<sup>1</sup> are characterized by all the fulness of material and exhaustive treatment that made and have kept his *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* invaluable to the student. As was to be expected, a much larger part of this volume is devoted to criticism than to historical statement; and the chief aim of the criticism is to fix the date of the Levitical legislation, the Priests'-Code, relatively to the rest of Old Testament laws on the subject. Almost no one doubts now that the Priests'-Code (cited as P) comes second to the Book of the Covenant and the long historical narrative portion of the Pentateuch (cited as J E), in which the latter is incorporated. But where is P to stand in the subsequent series—Deuteronomy (D), Ezekiel, and the post-exilic legislation in Ezra and Nehemiah? It will be remembered (if we may repeat an old story), that all four collections,—J E, D, Ezekiel, and the post-exilic writings,—reveal in the order of their dates a certain orderly development of legislation upon the following points: the distinction between the priestly class and the laity, the distinction within the priestly class between the descendants of Aaron and the common Levites; the dues paid to priests; the high priest; and the one sanctuary. J E makes little difference between priests and laity, and none at all within the priestly class; says nothing of dues to priests, and speaks with toleration of several sanctuaries. D knows no distinction between Aaron's family and other Levites, but insists upon a central sanctuary, and gives direction for the support of the priests. Ezekiel makes—according to Wellhausen, he originates—a severe distinction between the sons of Zadok and the rest of the Levites, whom he degrades to be ministers of the temple in place of the uncircumcised foreigners tolerated in

<sup>1</sup> *Die Geschichte des Alttestamentlichen Priesterthums untersucht* von Wolff Wilhelm Grafen Baudissin, Prof. der Theol. an der Universität Marburg. (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1889. Pp. xvi and 312.)

the first temple, but now to be banished from the sacred precincts ; he elaborates the system of dues, but he has no high priest. This personage appears for the first time in the post-exilic books, which also seriously extend the priestly revenues, distinguish between priests and Levites, and further specialise the temple staff into singers, doorkeepers and Nethinim. In this certainly historical development, it is the latest and most elaborate stage to which P shows closest, though by no means absolute, resemblance. P mentions no sacrifices before Moses, emphasises the single sanctuary, the distinction between priests and Levites, the position of the high priest and the priestly dues, but does not specialise the Levites into the several classes, into which they are told off in Ezra and Nehemiah, and appear to have been divided even before the exile. P contains also apparently exilic elements, though these might be taken for later insertions, whose presence would not preclude the question of a pre-exilic date for the bulk of the document. The case is a very difficult one, and in face of it Wellhausen's wholesale withdrawal of P to Ezra's time is audacious enough to provoke a pretty confident opposition. It is as opposing Wellhausen on this question of the date of P that Baudissin appears ; but his volume is much more than a mere advocate's brief for a side in the case. It is one of the most full and exhaustive treatments of the whole case which have yet appeared, and if it cannot be regarded as a final solution, it will not fail to approve itself as affording real help towards this, and providing a larger thesaurus of the material of the question than is elsewhere available. Baudissin's method is to state the contents of P as far as the priesthood is concerned, and then to compare these with the analogous parts, in turn, of J E, D, Ezekiel, the post-exilic books, the earlier historical books, the prophets and the poetic writings. This occupies 260 pages, and then

the volume concludes with a forty-page chapter of summary narrative entitled "Historical Results."

The most successful part of the argument will be felt to be that which is directed against the post-exilic origin of P. One of Wellhausen's reasons for attributing P to Ezra—and this is one of the frequent instances in which Wellhausen overstates his case—is its stiff, artificial and absolutely isolated character; also that, unlike other parts of the Pentateuch, it betrays no allusion to the fact that Israel is already settled in the land, and the murmur of running history is never audible in it. Baudissin (without referring to Wellhausen) strategically begins by pleading for P quite another character. "The apparently closely mortised organization of P is only an organization in process of growth at the time the author wrote, the separate parts of which were partly not then old, and partly not then observed." Other arguments (partly repeated from Delitzsch, Dillmann, Nöldeke and Riehm) are, that P is presupposed by the arrangements in Zerubbabel's time as well as Ezra's; that there are points emphasised by Ezekiel which P ignores; and that P does not exactly correspond to the ranking of the temple service which appears in Ezra and Nehemiah. Baudissin urges with great force that if the composition of P had been so wholly a matter of Ezra's time, P would not have been content with its own simple distinction among the priest-class, but must have said more of the singers and doorkeepers, who are so frequently mentioned by Ezra and Nehemiah. On the other hand, Baudissin does not help his argument by explaining the remarkable omission from P of all provision for civil government—which of course is held by Wellhausen to point to a date for P when Israel was not responsible for her own government—by the suggestion that P was written when the civil government was in unquestioned activity, and therefore beyond the need of legislation.

In carrying his argument farther back, and attempting to prove P prior to Ezekiel, Baudissin's chief difficulty is the high priest. If P was earlier than, and known to, Ezekiel—as P must have been, if in existence—why did Ezekiel omit the high priest? The answer to this objection (p. 131) is ingenious, but not convincing. There is more success in the attempt to refute Graf's opinion that Ezekiel's distinction between priests and Levites is original, and strong reasons are given for supposing Ezekiel's limitation of the priesthood proper to the family of Zadok to be necessarily a step subsequent to P's less strict limitation of it to the descendants of Aaron. But I think that, on this point, Baudissin has not recognised the very remarkable fact, that Ezra's practice in the admission of the sons of Ithamar to the priesthood alongside of the descendants of Zadok conforms to P's directions rather than to Ezekiel's. So that the order cannot have been so steadily, as Baudissin would have it, towards a more strict exclusiveness; and on this point P may be placed as easily after, as before, Ezekiel.

Baudissin however is not content to have placed P before Ezekiel. Like Dillmann, he will prove P's priority even to Deuteronomy. In doing so he has, of course, to make Dillmann's great concession. It is so plain that D does not know of the existence of P, that those who would put P first must grant its existence till after D merely as a *Privatschrift*: that is, in circulation only within some priestly guild of Jerusalem, and therefore the less likely to be heard of by the author of D, who wrote, not in the interest of the Jerusalem sanctuary, but for the purpose of securing at that sanctuary, when it became alone legitimate, the rights of the provincial priests. On the same ground the simpler cultus of D, often used as an argument for its priority to the more elaborate P, may be explained as due to D's fidelity to the primitive worship of the rural altars. All



these points Baudissin makes well and fairly. Against the objection that a document, which confines itself so rigidly to the representation of a single sanctuary, and makes no reference to the possibility of others, could scarcely have been written at a date when these latter existed and a polemic against them was raging, he replies that a picture of a single sanctuary, so simple and so unconscious of rivals, was the likeliest weapon in such a polemic. Yet it strikes us that if P were used at all for polemical purposes before D, the latter, in pursuit of the same end, would have betrayed some sympathy with so strong and presumably so ancient an ally. The difficulty of supposing the existence of P during the great struggle against the high places of Judah is the utter difference of its standpoint from that of the chief champions of the struggle, the prophets. Baudissin is on firmer ground when he enforces the necessity of some code of worship during the period of the kings: it is almost inconceivable that the temple and hierarchy were so far developed, as the diatribes of the prophets and the historical notices of the books of Kings reveal them to have been, without an even elaborate Torah. Whether this Torah was a written one is another question; whether, if written, it was P itself, is still a third question. Baudissin does not directly deal with the probability of a written Torah; but he makes some points, which go to show that P might, in part at least, have been in existence at the time: for example, P's failure to carry out through its whole extent the distinction between priests and Levites; the significant fact, that while the duties of the priests are detailed both for the wilderness and Canaan, the duties of the Levites are detailed only for the wilderness, from which he infers that the separation of Levites and priests was still novel to the author of P; and the evidence that to P the "Levites" are not necessarily members of the tribe of Levi, but a designation for

all temple servants, equivalent to Nethinim—a use of the term impossible to Ezekiel or Ezra. On all these points Baudissin makes out a good case for his plea that the Levitical legislation was of gradual growth, a great part of it falling in a time when Israel's history was still unwritten, the distinctions in the temple service recent, and other matters not so elaborate as they became by the time of the exile. Thus he increases evidence for the difficulties which beset Wellhausen's absolute relegation of P to Ezra. But we doubt whether he has succeeded in fastening P down so definitely as to the middle of the seventh century. If however the date of P still remains a problem, it is not the fault of this essay. There could not be a more fair, conscientious and well informed statement of the problem. The fault is in the data themselves. How the problems of the Pentateuch increase as you read each new attempt to solve them! Not that agreement does not gradually spread. As we have said, the most striking feature of present essays from the more conservative German critics, like Baudissin, is their almost entire resignation to the task of searching for the relative dates of the different parts of the Pentateuch on *this* side the eighth century. Of Moses' relation to the Pentateuch this is the most Baudissin will allow himself to say: "Dass Mose einen Priesterstand einsetzte oder doch dass es in Israel einen solchen seit dem Aufenthalt in der Sinai-Wüste gab, darf als geschichtlich angesehen werden, wenn auch die Regelung des Priesterstandes und die Abgrenzung der Laienbefugnisse ihm gegenüber vor der Einwanderung in Kanaan und noch lange nachher bis in die Königszeit hinein vielfach unsicher blieben." This is vague enough; it cannot be final. The Pentateuch problem surely is not to be altogether settled, as most recent attempts, even in conservative quarters, are seeking to settle it, on this side of the eighth century. Apart from other questions, justice to such

facts as the long influence of Egypt on the people, with the traces it has left on the language of the Pentateuch, the considerable time when there was a single sanctuary, and the traces in P itself of laws so old that to D they are obsolete, must keep open ways of return to an earlier date for at least a large portion of the Pentateuch.

In turning to the new edition of Schultz's *Old Testament Theology* we observe even more measurable traces of Wellhausen's influence; for the first edition appeared twenty years ago, when the reigning scheme of Hebrew history was that represented by Ewald. The second edition appeared in 1878, the same year as Wellhausen's *Prolegomena*. It contained a number of concessions to the new theory, and especially the most important of all, that P (cited by Schultz as A) was later than Deuteronomy. But there was not then time to attempt an entire reconstruction of Old Testament Theology on the new foundation. This fourth edition however (the third being a mere reprint of the second) has been "völlig umgearbeitet." The arrangement of contents is much transposed. An introduction and two main divisions take the place of the introduction, the divisions and the appendix of the last edition. The first division is a historical sketch of over three hundred pages of the "Entwicklung der Religion und Sitte Israel's bis zur Aufrichtung des Hasmonäerstattes." What was given in fragments, some of it even in an appendix, is here brought together. This is a great gain in method, and will make the book more useful than ever to students. The second division, under the title "Das Heilswusstsein Israels und seine religiöse Weltanschauung als Ergebniss der Religionsgeschichte des Volkes," gathers up in dogmatic form in separate chapters the summary of Israel's religious consciousness and doctrine in the period of the second temple. We turn with curiosity to the chapter on the "Periods and Sources of Old Testament Theology." Here there is a defi-

nite denial to David of all psalms except the eighteenth; in the second edition Schultz still left him some others. The Jehovist (cited as B) is assigned to as early a date as Solomon's, which is argued for in two pages; and the younger Elohist (C) to the beginning of the eighth century. Schultz will not bring back the Priestercodex so far as Baudissin; but he holds as firmly as Baudissin does to the impossibility of its late-exilic date, and assigns it to the very beginning of the exile. Space does not permit us to give a longer review of this book, as indispensable as ever to the student.

Both volumes of the first half of Messrs. Clark's Foreign Theological Library deal with the Old Testament. Besides the second volume of Delitzsch's *Genesis*, we have Von Orelli's *Isaiah*, translated by Professor Banks. The latter appeared along with the same author's *Jeremiah* in the first Old Testament number of Zöckler and Strack's "Kurzgefasstes Commentar," a series whose temper, although its authors accept most modern critical results, is distinctly conservative. Orelli's introductions are excellent, with one or two exceptions. The limits of his space happily excuse him from repeating the opinions of all his predecessors, and for the most part he avoids the irreconcilable and futile arguments from style, fairly stating the historical features. He is not very clear however about xiii., xiv.; without committing himself to the authenticity of these chapters, he gives a series of reasons for it, which are simply dissipated by his subsequent adherence to an exilic authorship for xl.-lxvi. He is more bold to retain xxiv.-xxvii. for *Isaiah*; of xxxiv., xxxv. he will only say that there is no necessity for denying them to *Isaiah*. Hezekiah's psalm he counts genuine. On xl.-lxvi. he states the argument for the exilic authorship with clearness, but, I think, with only half the force which is available along



that line. He makes almost entirely, as is right, for the familiar historical proof: that the earlier chapters deal with Cyrus as "a well-known hero of the day." That is certain; but it may be weighted with this far more important and—against all opposing reasons whatever—utterly conclusive fact, that not only is Cyrus represented as in the swing of his career, but that the whole of the argument in chapters xli. ff. depends on this. These chapters are a vindication of Jehovah's righteousness. By previous oracles Jehovah had promised a redeemer for His people. Cyrus is the fulfilment of that promise, the proof (which is the thing the chapters are engaged in adducing) that Jehovah has kept His word. The chapters are not prophecies of the certainty of Cyrus' coming; *they are triumphant appeals to the fact that he has come.* This is sufficient reply to those who irrelevantly ask, "But was it not possible for Isaiah to predict the name of Cyrus one hundred and fifty years before?" Good people, your question does not need an answer! It should never have been raised; there is nothing in the text itself to start it. These prophecies do not claim to predict the Persian or his name; the evidence with which they rush into court is, that he *has come*, as earlier prophecies, which they mention, intimated he would. If Cyrus be not there in the flesh, they are worthless. Orelli therefore, when he points to Cyrus, merely as if his name were an allusion betrayed by the prophet to his own day, states but half the proof for the exilic authorship of xl. ff. The whole proof, and it is simply inexpugnable, is, that the appearance of Cyrus—Cyrus there in the flesh, visible to the heathen, and shortly to be felt by them in all his weight of war—is an essential element in the prophet's proof of the Divine righteousness. Orelli maintains the unity of the whole prophecy in its present form, including lii., liii.; but he has not, I think, fully stated the difficulties in connexion with lvi. ff. On the commen-

tary itself as a whole great praise is to be bestowed, and one is not disposed to quarrel with a few defects where there is so much that is excellent in so brief a form. More frequent explanations of *tsedeq* and *tsadiq* would have been desirable, for the word has many meanings in Isaiah, on some of which the argument actually turns, and even within one verse (lvi. 1) the word is used in a double sense. The historical illustrations to the prophecies referring to Isaiah's own day are almost invariably pertinent and adequate. Professor Banks has produced a satisfactory translation.

The value of the Old Testament for Christian ethics has been very oppositely estimated in the high places of theology. Schleiermacher and Rothe represent the extreme views. Schleiermacher will have nothing to do with the Old Testament. Judaism, according to him, is on the same level with paganism, as contributing to Christianity. "There is a jump" from both to the new dispensation. The sole causes for the survival of the use of the Jewish Scriptures to the present day are the New Testament appeals to them, and the historic connexion between the Christian cult and the Jewish synagogue. In modern Christianity the Old Testament has neither apologetic nor ethical value. "For our ethics it is entirely superfluous." Rothe's view is the very opposite. "The ethical ideas of the Old Testament have not to wait for the New to be obtained in their purity. It is just in the department of ethics that both Testaments stand upon the same degree of clearness. The Holy Ghost can speak in different tongues; but where, as in the whole canonical Bible, He speaks pure and undimmed through the human spirit, there also His principles and ideas are everywhere the same." Pastor Fischer, of Bessingen, in a pamphlet just published,<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Das Alte Testament und die Christliche Sittenlehre.* (Gotha: F. A. Perthes, 1889, pp. 161.)

rightly charges both of these views with the same defect, a want of vision for the historical development of the kingdom of God; and he has set himself the task of investigating on "strictly historical principles" with both a scientific and practical purpose, the relations of the ethics of the two Testaments. It is a needful task, and the proper method to pursue it. Pastor Fischer has accomplished a comprehensive and very suggestive essay, which would have been a greater success if it had been written more concisely and divided into sections. The bulk of it consists of a review and apology for the law of Jehovah and the religious consciousness of Israel. This however is not conducted upon "strictly historical principles." The Old Testament is simply divided between "Mosaism" and "prophetism," which latter term includes the theology of the Psalms. Although the author intimates that he does not accept the whole of the Old Testament as authentic, he ranges all the former as the earlier development of Judaism, and regards the latter, not as a movement hostile to the law, but, on the contrary, "prophetism is the truest interpreter of Mosaism." In vindicating this theory, the author does not appear to have adequately treated the declarations against sacrifice which occur both in the prophets and in the Psalms. It is certainly not a true historic instinct which inspires the clause: "In the moral life of Israel prophetism nowhere signifies a higher step"; *i.e.* than Mosaism. A defence of the imprecatory psalms, with an analysis of what constitutes righteous and what unrighteous vengeance, is ingenious and suggestive. The explanation of the psalmist's asseverations of self-righteousness is good, but it is not on such details that the defects of the author's method become evident. There is no treatment, for instance, of the development of so manifold an idea as "righteousness," and no attempt to show what elements in the idea passed into the New Testament and

received prominence there. Rightly asserting that ethics take their character from the dogmatic principles to which they are attached, Fischer emphasises that the Old and New Covenants were between the same God and the same people, but that while under the former He was represented as the Lord and they as the slaves; He as the Redeemer and they as the redeemed, who were bound to Him not only by fear, but by gratitude for merciful deliverances, in the New Testament He is the Father of His people, who especially inspires their conduct to Him by His self-sacrifice,—an infinitely more illuminating and stimulating standard for ethics than even the mercy exhibited in the redemption of Israel from Egypt, from which the Decalog derives its motive. This distinction is finely stated. “It is neither new maxims nor new revelations” that make the difference between the ethics of the Old and the New Testaments, but “new realities.” These “realities” are Christ’s sinlessness, His self-sacrifice, His resurrection and gift of eternal life, and the fact that the men to whom He addressed the old law were themselves new creatures—no longer mere servants of God, but children. On these points Pastor Fisher is historically correct and very stimulating.

The first issue for 1889 of Stade’s *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* contains, as usual, a number of laborious and useful studies. M. J. Derenbourg prints, with a short introduction and notes, the first thirty-two chapters of R. Saadia’s Arabic version of Isaiah in Hebrew letters. Dr. Benzinger analyses Leviticus xvi., the law of the great day of atonement, and draws the conclusion “that the chapter consists of two entirely different laws, which originally had only this in common, that in both there occurs an entrance of the high priest to the holy of holies: the first is an ordinance as to the conditions on



which Aaron can enter the holy of holies without danger; the second is the institution of an annual feast of atonement and its ritual." Dr. Holzinger, repentent in Tübingen, gives a very long and valuable analysis of the vocabulary, orthography, syntax and grammar of the book of Joel, with the result that he grants his adherence to those who place the book very late. In last year's *Zeitschrift*, Professor Smend had an able article. "Über das *Ich* der Psalmen," which carried the theory, that the first personal pronoun, when used in the Psalms, refers to the community and not to the individual, to so extreme a length, that protests were to be expected. One of these, and a very wise one it is, is published in this *Zeitschrift* by Dr. J. Z. Schurmans Stekhoven. He has little difficulty in pointing to one or two instances where the first personal pronoun can only mean an individual, as Psalm lxi. 9, and very justly remarks that where, as in the sixth Psalm, an undoubted reference to the whole community comes in at the close, that is not to be allowed to translate into its own terms a patent description of an individual in the earlier part of the psalm, but we must recognise in it the turn given to what was originally an individual's psalm so as to adapt it to congregational use. This is a most sensible view. To maintain that "the I" of the Psalms must throughout be congregational, simply because the Psalter was the song-book of the second temple, and to seek to force certain irresistibly individual features of its use into that absolute rule by interpreting them as proverbs or metaphors, is thoroughly unscientific, and Stekhoven is right that "each psalm is to be interpreted by itself," or more correctly, as we have seen above from Psalm vi., each verse of a psalm. O. Gruppe discusses the question, "War Genesis vi. 1-4 ursprünglich mit der Sintflut verbunden?" and Prof. Budde sends a note on Habbakuk ii. 3 ff., in which he pleads for the more frequent omission of the particle ׀ in trans-

lation, as only equivalent to the Greek ὅτι in introducing indirect speech,—a meaning long recognised in Hebrew grammar but not yet sufficiently attended to in translation.

*The Latin Heptateuch Published Piecemeal by the French Printer William Morel (1560) and the French Benedictines E. Martène (1733) and J. B. Pitra (1852-88), Critically Reviewed by John E. B. Mayor M.A. Professor of Latin in the University of Cambridge*, is the title of a volume (pp. lxxiv and 270) just issued by C. J. Clay & Sons. In 1560 Morel printed, from a thirteenth century MS., 165 lines of a paraphrase of Genesis in Latin hexameters. In 1733 nearly 1,300 verses were added by Martène from a MS. of the ninth century. The late Cardinal Pitra, from other MSS., in 1852, completed Genesis, and printed for the first time Exodus, Deuteronomy and Joshua, with parts of Leviticus and Numbers, and in 1888 the rest of Leviticus and Numbers with Judges. The poem in its first discovered fragments was assigned now to Tertullian and now to Cyprian, but later on to Juvencus, the fifth century Spaniard, who put so many Bible subjects into Latin verse; and of Juvencus' authorship Pitra remained convinced till his death. Lucian Müller, however, in 1860 disposed of Juvencus' claims to the satisfaction of most critics, and suggested for the poem a Gallic author, who is now generally identified by the authorities as Cyprian, third Bishop of Toulon in the first half of the ninth century. All this and much more of an interesting literary history, is set forth by Prof. Mayor in his "advertisement." Professor Mayor critically reviews the poem in the interests of Latin scholarship, hoping for some contributions to lexicography and etymology. But this part of his work is outside the scope of our review.

GEORGE ADAM SMITH.

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## PRIMITIVE LITURGIES AND CONFESSIONS OF FAITH.

### II.

LET it be conceded that there is a strong *à priori* probability in favour of the assumption, that a brief summary of the prime essentials of the Christian faith was among the first requisites of the apostolic Church, and that all we know of the prudence, decision, and divinely instructed wisdom exhibited in the administration of that Church would lead us to expect that such a summary was drawn up at a very early period, and was issued with the sanction and authority of the Apostles themselves,—and a further inferential probability suggests itself.

If such a summary did exist, and if it be again and again *mentioned* and *referred to*, is it not at least extremely probable that in the apostolic writings it should be *quoted* also? Nay, is it indeed conceivable that a “symbol” so dear and so familiar,—round which so many solemn associations clustered, and which must necessarily have taken so firm a hold upon the memory,—could *fail* to be quoted in the sacred writings addressed to the several Churches of the baptized?

Let it be remembered that the several Epistles were addressed to Christians in every possible grade of spiritual progress: men of Rome perplexed by Jewish troubiers; men of Corinth stirred by the wildest excitement of overwrought enthusiasm, and phrenzied by notions of the most extravagant antinomianism; men of Galatia, so fickle as to be ready to give up the faith for some dream of hybrid

Christianity, half gospel and half law; men of Thessalonica, disturbed by expectations of an immediate consummation of all things; up to that blameless and simple Philippian Church to which the Apostle could write as if the peace of God had rested on it, and the atmosphere of a Divine joy were peculiarly its own. In writing to each and all of these, is it credible that *quotation* of familiar documents could be avoided?

And if, on the contrary, it is reasonable to expect that we should meet with such quotation, what better task can we set ourselves than that of endeavouring to detect the fragments of the ancient formularies embedded in the apostolic writings? If these have not been duly pointed out by others, perhaps it has been only because they have not been sought for with an intelligent scrutiny.

But our business now is mainly with that summary which we have seen is called by the various names, λόγος, πίστις, διδαχὴ, ὁδός, a brief summary of *credenda* (and I should be inclined to think a very brief one), which it appears was offered for the acceptance of those who were to "put on Christ" at their baptism. Where is any quotation from this to be found?

In the eighth chapter of the Acts we meet with the story of Philip and the eunuch of Candace, queen of Ethiopia, and we read of the conversion wrought by the Apostle and the celebration of baptism on that extraordinary occasion. In the Textus Receptus we find that, in reply to the question of the eunuch τί κωλύει με βαπτισθῆναι; (Acts viii. 36) St. Philip answers, εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἔξεστιν, and it is added, ἀποκριθεὶς δὲ εἶπε, Πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν. Now there is little or no doubt that this thirty-seventh verse is an interpolation: the Codex Laudianus is the only uncial MS. in which it is to be found, the immense majority of the cursives do not notice it, the early versions agree in omitting it, and critical editors with-



out hesitation reject it as undoubtedly spurious. But how far back is the interpolation to be traced? To begin with, the Codex Laudianus cannot, it seems, be set down to a later date than the end of the sixth century, but before it could have been received into so splendid an uncial as E, it must evidently have been accepted without question or suspicion for some considerable time.<sup>1</sup> Accordingly, we find it quoted by Augustine and Jerome in the fifth century, by Pacian in the fourth, by Cyprian in the third, and by Irenæus in the second. "This passage," says Scrivener, "affords us a curious instance of an *addition* well received in the Western Church from the second century downwards, and afterwards making some way among the later Greek codices and writers" (*Introduction*, p. 444). But how did it get interpolated in the first instance? Scrivener's suggestion is doubtless the right one, namely, that it was received into the text from the margin, "where the formula πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστὸν had been placed, extracted from some Church ordinal." Observe how much is implied in this hypothesis! Already, at the end of the second century, we find an interpolation received into the text from the margin, and *that margin a quotation from a service book*. But the marginal note itself must have been regarded with some kind of reverence, and have been somewhat familiar to the memories of the annotator and of those in whose hands he expected his MS. to fall, before a scribe could have ventured to deal with it so boldly.

Let it be remembered that before the whole process of introducing this interpolation from the service book into the margin, and from the margin into the text, could be so complete as that Irenæus should quote it from the text without a suspicion of its spuriousness, a considerable lapse of time must be conceded; and whether we put the date

<sup>1</sup> Scrivener, *Introd.*, p. 128; Tischendorf, *Proleg.*, ed. 7<sup>ma</sup>, p. clxxviii.

of Irenæus' death with Dodwell as early as 167, or with Baronius as late as 205, in any case we are compelled to allow that, probably at the very beginning of the third century, possibly towards the end of the second, we find unmistakable indications of a service book being familiarly known in the sub-apostolic Church (to use an expression of the late Professor Blunt) which contained, as one clause of a primitive confession of faith, πιστεύω τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ Θεοῦ εἶναι τὸν Ἰησοῦν Χριστόν.

But though this clause be all that Irenæus quotes of the verse now standing in the *Textus ab omnibus Rejectus*, yet the whole verse is found in E, and with a very suggestive variant in the reading. Instead of εἰ πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας ἔξεστιν, the Laudian MS. reads, ἐὰν πιστεύεις ἐξ ὅλης τῆς καρδίας σωθήσῃ. Now, although it cannot be doubted that the particle ἐὰν is found with the indicative in the New Testament, yet it is, to say the least, a rare construction, and singularly inexplicable here; but what are we to make of the word σωθήσῃ? On turning to the Epistle to the Romans we find the true key to the whole matter; although in doing so a wide field of interesting inquiry (too wide to allow of our doing more than touch lightly upon the present occasion) is opened out to our attention. At the tenth chapter of the epistle (Rom. x. 5) St. Paul is contrasting the δικαιοσύνη of the Mosaic law with the δικαιοσύνη offered under the gospel, and at the fifth verse he thus proceeds:

“For Moses writes about (γράφει) the δικαιοσύνη which proceeds out of the law, saying (ὅτι recitative),<sup>1</sup> the man

<sup>1</sup> Winer barely notices this idiom, which appears to me to play a very important part in the Greek Testament, and Dr. Moulton seems strangely to have misunderstood Winer's meaning. The translator's footnote at p. 683 has nothing to do with the construction with which the text is concerned. In the last edition of Kühner's *Ausf. Gram. der Gr. Sprache* (Hanover, 1872), this use of ὅτι is carefully handled, and a large number of instances given, §§ 551-4, vol. ii., p. 885. See too Madv., *Grk. Syntax* (Eng. tr.), §§ 192-6, and Goodwin's *Grk.*

that doeth these things (αὐτὰ) shall live by them. But the δικαιοσύνη ἐκ πίστεως (an expression which I leave untranslated advisedly) speaks thus-wise (οὕτω—where note that there is no ὅτι recitative—no actual quotation), ‘Say not in thy heart, Who shall go up to heaven?’ *i.e.* to bring Christ down, nor, ‘Who shall go down into the abyss?’ *i.e.* to bring up Christ from the dead; but *what does it say?*—The phrase is near thee, *in thy mouth and in thy memory*; that is, the phrase of the faith, which phrase we proclaim (τὸ ῥῆμα<sup>1</sup> τῆς πίστεως ὃ κηρύσσομεν), saying (ὅτι recitative), (and here observe that the particle indicates the commencement of an actual quotation once more)—ἐὰν ὁμολογήσης ἐν τῷ στόματί σου Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ πιστεύσης ἐν τῇ καρδίᾳ σου ὅτι ὁ Θεὸς αὐτὸν ἡγείρειν ἐκ νεκρῶν σωθήσῃ.”

Here we have the very words of the interpolation of the eighth chapter of the Acts; here the ἐὰν and the σωθήσῃ of the Codex Laudianus receive their elucidation; in the Acts the ἐὰν is ungrammatical, here it is perfectly correct; *there* there is no mention of the confession to be made with the mouth, here the particle belongs first to ὁμολογήσης, next to πιστεύσης; *there* the first clause is omitted, though the original particle is retained.

But what is the meaning of this word σωθήσῃ or σωθήσῃ?

In the account which St. Peter gives of his baptism of Cornelius at Cæsarea, in the eleventh chapter of the Acts, the Apostle (ver. 13) tells his hearers that on his arrival at Cornelius’ house, the centurion had reported to him that he had seen an angel, and that the angel had bidden him send for Peter, ὃς λαλήσει ῥήματα πρὸς σε ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ πᾶς ὁ οἶκός σου, and that just as he had begun to speak, the Holy Ghost fell on them; and he adds,

Moods, § 79. Cf. Thuc. i. 51 (Shilleto): ὅτι νῆες ἐκεῖναι ἐπιπλέουσι. A capital instance of the use of ὅτι recitative is to be found at Mark x. 33.

<sup>1</sup> See a valuable note by the lamented Mr. James Riddell, on the expression ῥήμασί τε καὶ ὀνόμασι, in Plato’s *Apol. Socrat.* c. i.

“I remembered the saying (τοῦ ῥήματος) of the Lord, how He said, John baptized with water, but ye shall be baptized with the Holy Ghost.” Can there be any reasonable doubt that the word σωθήσῃ of the fourteenth verse is the equivalent of the βαπτισθήσεσθε of the sixteenth, and that the ῥήματα ἐν οἷς σωθήσῃ of verse fourteen must be explained by the ῥήμα τῆς πίστεως of the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans?

An interesting parallel to this passage in the eleventh chapter of the Acts is afforded in the sixteenth chapter. We there read that the gaoler in the prison at Philippi, alarmed by the earthquake, and thinking his prisoners had escaped, was reassured by the presence of mind and coolness exhibited by Paul and Silas, and falling down before them said, Κύριοι, τί με δεῖ ποιεῖν ἵνα σωθῶ; (Acts xvi. 30) “What is it necessary for me to *do* in order that I may be *saved*?” St. Paul, true to himself and to the principles which he enunciates in the Epistle to the Romans, that it was not a question of *doing* anything at all, but of profession and believing, replies, Πίστευσον ἐπὶ τὸν Κύριον Ἰησοῦν, καὶ σωθήσῃ σὺ καὶ ὁ οἶκός σου (ver. 31), “Believe on the Lord Jesus, and thou mayest be saved, thou and all thy house.” And accordingly, after receiving the necessary instruction, for ἐλάλησαν αὐτῷ τὸν λόγον τοῦ Κυρίου (ver. 32)—then ἐβαπτίσθη αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ αὐτοῦ πάντες παραχρῆμα (ver. 33). The conclusion appears inevitable; that the “*saving*” of the one verse answers to the “*baptism*” of the other, and that whether the gaoler meant to apply for baptism or not (using the expression ἵνα σωθῶ), St. Paul, at any rate, gave this sense to his words.

If this view of the passages examined be the correct one, then more than one other passage confessedly difficult is cleared up; *e.g.* we can understand what St. Paul means, in 1 Corinthians i. 18, by saying that the λόγος τοῦ σταυροῦ is folly τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις, but a Divine power ἡμῖν τοῖς



σωζομένοις; for the unbaptized were still ἀπολλύμενοι,—in a state of perdition,—but the baptized were *in a state of salvation* (σωζόμενοι). So again in the second epistle and second chapter, making use of the simile of a triumphant procession, he says at the fifteenth verse (2 Cor. ii. 15), Χριστοῦ εὐωδία ἔσμεν τῷ Θεῷ ἐν τοῖς σωζομένοις καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἀπολλυμένοις; i.e. *to the baptized and the unbaptized*, to those in a state of salvation and those in a state of perdition. For, as St. Peter explains to us, “just as the ark in the days of Noe *put into a state of safety* (1 Pet. iii. 20, 21) the eight that were delivered from the flood, and so by means of water the few were *saved*, so its antitype, baptism, ὑμᾶς νῦν σώζει”: and hence too, after the day of Pentecost, when that amazing awakening brought thousands to embrace the faith and to put on Christ by baptism, it is said, “the Lord added to the Church daily τοὺς σωζομένους” (Acts ii. 47); for, as St. Paul says to Titus (there too possibly, as is maintained by Canon Liddon, quoting an early Christian document), ἔσωσεν ἡμᾶς διὰ λουτροῦ παλιγγενεσίας (Tit. iii. 5).<sup>1</sup>

I cannot but conclude then, from a comparison of the passages cited, that we have in the spurious thirty-seventh verse of the eighth chapter of the Acts a fragment of the apostolic summary of faith designated by the technical terms previously referred to; and that this same clause is again quoted, with greater exactness and verbal accuracy, in the tenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans.

I turn next to a passage in the First Epistle to the Corinthians, where another such quotation is to be found.

In the fifteenth chapter (1 Cor. xv. 1), St. Paul, preparing to speak with the most solemn emphasis on the subject of the resurrection of the body, introduces the subject thus: “I declare unto you, brethren, the gospel which I announced (εὐηγγελισάμην) to you, which too ye receive, in which ye have your standing, by means of which too ye are *in a*

<sup>1</sup> Liddon's *Bampton Lectures* (2nd ed.), p. 328.

state of salvation (δι' οὗ καὶ σώζεσθε), if ye abide by the 'word' which I announced to you, unless ye believed in vain."<sup>1</sup>

Then he continues to explain what it was which he did transmit to them (ver. 3). "For I delivered to you, as of prime importance (ἐν πρώτοις), *that which I received.*" Received from whom? Dean Alford (*in loco*), says, "from the Lord by special revelation." So far from St. Paul even implying anything of the sort, he implies exactly the contrary. When, as in the eleventh chapter (1 Cor. xi. 23), he reminds the Corinthians he had delivered to them a special and peculiar account of the institution of the Lord's Supper, which *differs materially from the account given by any of the three synoptic Evangelists*, he expressly tells them that he received *that* account ἀπὸ τοῦ Κυρίου. Here the inference is just the reverse. No; that to which he is alluding in the fifteenth chapter is clearly something different, *viz.* the elementary and fundamental doctrines of the primitive faith, which, *as it was delivered to him at his baptism*, to keep safe, and to hold

<sup>1</sup> The difficulties of the passage are many and perplexing. I must repeat that I do not think this the place for discussing them elaborately; but after long and careful consideration I have arrived at the following conclusions:

- (1) *τινι* is to be regarded as a substitution of the interrogative for the relative pronoun as at St. Mark xiv. 36 and 1 Tim. i. 7. [See Green's *Gram. of the N. T. Dialect*, p. 247. Winer, as represented by his translator, p. 210, is obscure to the verge of being unintelligible. Compare Soph. *El.* 1167, and Hermann's note as against Jebb; cf. too Soph., *Trach.* 339.]
- (2) *κατέχετε* must have the same meaning as at 1 Cor. xi. 2, and it is to be compared with *μένειν* in such passages as 1 Tim. ii. 15 and 2 Tim. iii. 14; or with *προσέχειν*, Acts xvi. 14, and frequently elsewhere.
- (3) The strange construction of *κατέχειν*, c. dat., though, as far as I know, without parallel, is hardly more violent than the use of the same verb by Thuc. viii. 28 . . . ἐν ᾧ Ἀμόργης . . . κατεῖχε. Nor is it at all more peculiar than Thuc. ii. 16, τῇ οἰκῇσει . . . μετεῖχον.

The Revised Version is ingenious in *getting round* the difficulty of *τινι λόγῳ* with *κατέχειν*, but it does no more. With regard to the rendering of *σώζεσθε*, can the word *strictly* be translated by our English "*ye are saved*"? If *σώζω* be a *present imperfect*, and means I am saving [somebody else], then in the passive it can only mean *I am being saved*—the tense expressing an action going on.

firm, so it was a precious deposit he was bound to hand on to others also.

Accordingly here, as in the passage of the Romans previously discussed, he proceeds to quote this *παράδοσις verbatim*, introducing the several clauses, as before, by the particle *ὅτι* in its recitative usage. "This is what I received, *viz.* Christ died for our sins according to the Scriptures; and He was buried, and He was raised on the third day according to the Scriptures: and He was seen by Peter, then by the Twelve. . . ." Here I believe the actual quotation ceases, and what follows is appended by the Apostle as corroborative of the actual clauses of the *παράδοσις* cited before; the style changes, from the short sentences above, to a longer and more explicit statement the moment the recitative *ὅτι* ceases to be employed.

Feeling, as I do, that a deliberate consideration of the passages hitherto discussed will hardly allow any competent student to hesitate as to the conclusion to be arrived at, I refrain from weakening the argument by introducing any doubtful passages into the discussion.<sup>1</sup>

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So far the attempt has been to detect the fragments of the first or elementary and fundamental creed, which, as I have said before, there is reason to believe was drawn up by the Apostles shortly after the ascension of the Lord.

I proceed next to an examination of such passages as appear to contain quotations from supplementary and more expanded statements of primitive doctrine, regarding which

<sup>1</sup> A very interesting passage is Jas. i. 19, where Hort and Westcott read *ἴστε* for *ᾠστε* with Lachmann. But they also read with L. . . . *ἔστω δὲ*. . . . Of course they do, because they fail to see that *ἔστω πᾶς ἄνθρωπος* . . . is a quotation. Regard the latter clause of the 19th verse as a quotation, and then the *δέ* drops out (as it does from G, J, and other MSS) as an interpolation which a later hand has added because he did not understand the original; just as the Revisers have found themselves in their translation compelled to interpolate *this* to make their rendering intelligible.

it is reasonable to assume that they were of the nature of esoteric formulæ delivered to the *πιστοὶ* for their edification and advancement in Christian knowledge.

A less elaborate discussion of these passages will suffice, as they are more numerous than might be expected, and their bearing upon the subject under review acquires its main force from the amount of cumulative evidence that can be produced.

The first passage to be noticed is in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Romans (Rom. xiii. 8): *Μηδενὶ μηδὲν ὀφείλετε*, says the Apostle at the eighth verse, *εἰ μὴ τὸ ἀλλήλους ἀγαπᾶν, ὃ γὰρ ἀγαπῶν τὸν ἕτερον νόμον πεπλήρωκεν*. . . . Then, after explaining this, he resumes at the tenth verse, *πλήρωμα οὖν νόμου ἡ ἀγάπη*, adding, *καὶ τοῦτο εἰδότες τὸν καιρὸν*,<sup>1</sup> “and do that, knowing the occasion”; then follows the quotation indicated by the particle *ὅτι*; *viz.* (ver. 11)—

ὥρα ἡμᾶς ἤδη  
 ἐξ ὕπνου ἐγερθῆναι  
 νῦν γὰρ ἐγγύτερον  
 ἡμῶν ἡ σωτηρία  
 ἢ ὅτε ἐπιστεύσαμεν  
 ἢ νῦν προέκοψεν  
 ἢ δὲ ἡμέρα ἤγγικεν.

“Already ’tis the hour to be wakened out of slumber, for nearer now is our salvation than when [first] we did believe. Far spent is the night, the day is near at hand.”

Exactly parallel to this is another “fragment of a Hymn on Penitence,” as Canon Liddon calls it,<sup>2</sup> quoted in Ephesians v. 13, 14:

τὰ δὲ πάντα ἐλεγχόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ φωτὸς φανεροῦνται  
 πᾶν γὰρ τὸ φανερούμενον φῶς ἐστίν· διὸ λέγει

<sup>1</sup> See Winer, p. 707.

<sup>2</sup> *Bampton Lectures*, p. 328.



ἔγειρε ὁ καθεύδων  
καὶ ἀνάστα ἐκ τῶν νεκρῶν  
καὶ ἐπιφαύσει σοι ὁ Χριστός.

Passing on from the Epistle to the Romans, we find St. Paul in the First Epistle to the Corinthians dealing with certain matters with which the controversies in the Corinthian Church were mainly concerned (1 Cor. vi. 1). With regard to quarrels between the brethren, he lays down the principle, that it is best to "settle them out of court." With regard to questions of meats clean and unclean, and with regard to fornication, he takes up the same ground as that occupied by the *δόγματα*. In both cases however he bases his argument upon certain *assumptions which he takes it for granted that the Corinthians would not dispute*. Thus at the first verse he says: "Does any of you . . . venture to go to law before the unjust, and not before the saints? Know ye not (ver. 2), οἱ ἅγιοι τὸν κόσμον κρινούσι; . . ." Continuing in the same strain, he proceeds: "What! know ye not (ver. 9), ἄδικοι Θεοῦ βασιλείαν οὐ κληρονομήσουσιν;" Again, while on the subject of fornication, he asks, "Know ye not (ver. 15), τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν μέλη Χριστοῦ;" Lastly, he asks once more, at ver. 19, "What, know ye not τὰ σώματα ὑμῶν ναὸς τοῦ ἐν ὑμῖν ἁγίου πνεύματος ἐστίν;"<sup>1</sup>

We have here in half a page of writing four several appeals to the intimate knowledge of certain profound truths possessed by the Corinthians. Consider what these appeals assume. They assume that four statements—any one of which might well be regarded as "a hard saying"—had

<sup>1</sup> Dean Alford says St. Paul "appeals to an axiomatic truth"! The words are familiar to us *now*, but could they have appeared other than very startling "axioms" to the mass of educated men in the reign of Nero? Nevertheless the Apostle *does* appeal to these truths as matters of familiar knowledge *among his Corinthian converts*. The question is, "*How* had truths like these become 'axiomatic'?"

already been accepted as indisputable, NOT *by virtue of their being put forth by the Apostle, but antecedent to the writing of the epistle in which they occur.* Now what are these statements?

- (1) The saints shall judge the world.
- (2) The unjust shall not inherit the kingdom of God.
- (3) Our bodies are the members of Christ.
- (4) Our body is the temple of the Holy Ghost.

Of course it is easy to say that the first of these statements is an "extension to the whole body of believers of that promise which our Lord in the first instance gave to the Twelve" (St. Luke xxii. 30, St. Matt. xix. 28); but surely this is to assume that the Apostle gives the Corinthians credit for making an inference from our Lord's words which, at least, is not an obvious one. Or, again, it is easy to say that the *second* statement is no more than "the converse of the promise given in the Sermon on the Mount, that the meek *shall inherit the earth* (St. Matt. v. 5); though here too the assumption is, at least, a bold one, that the Corinthians would so understand the words. But when we come to the third and fourth statements, we are introduced to a thought quite supplementary to any such promises as occur in our Lord's teaching,—a thought, indeed, which could only suggest itself *after* the Lord's death, resurrection, and ascension with His glorified body. On the other hand, regard these four statements as derived from some recognised and authoritative summary of things believed and received, and St. Paul's appeal to them and quotation of them become immediately intelligible,—then, *and only then*, they require no explanation and no comment; and so regarded, a fresh light is thrown upon those other passages where similar assumptions are made and similar appeals resorted to. Thus the emphatic repetition of the second of these statements at Galatians v. 21, and the

recurrence of precisely the same expressions at Ephesians v. 5, acquire a new significance; and thus too the frequent allusion and reference to the mysterious doctrine set forth in the third and fourth of these statements, which the apostolic writings contain, is accounted for and explained.

Again, in the eighth chapter of the same epistle it appears to me that much of the obscurity of the first few verses is dispelled if it be conceded that the Apostle is referring to and quoting from such a "recognised summary" as I am contending for. St. Paul thus begins the chapter (1 Cor. viii. 1): "We know that we all *have a γνῶσις about the idol sacrifices*—γνῶσις puffs up, love builds up. If any one thinks<sup>1</sup> he has got to know anything,<sup>2</sup> not yet has he got to know anything as he ought to know it; but if any one love God, he has become known by Him."

We have here a contrast drawn between the γνῶσις—which (*exactly as in the case of the πίστις*) is treated at one time as having an objective existence, and at another as a subjective intellectual apprehension—and the ἀγάπη, *i.e.* the sanctified emotional faculty which appropriates and clings to Christ. The former is not to be trusted as our sole guide; it requires to be controlled and directed by the latter. Nevertheless, as regards the matter under discussion, *viz.* the idol sacrifices, the γνῶσις in the main *is* to be taken as our guide; for, "*We know*

(1) οὐδὲν εἰδῶλον ἐν κόσμῳ."

And again, "*We know*

(2) οὐδεὶς Θεὸς ἕτερος εἰ μὴ εἰς."

And whatever may be asserted of other gods and other lords, *yet for us* (1 Cor. viii. 5, 6),

<sup>1</sup> Perhaps it would be pressing the force of the perf. infin. too much to translate, "If any one thinks he *has perfect knowledge of anything*" and yet I am not sure that this is not St. Paul's meaning.

<sup>2</sup> δοκεῖ ἐγνώκειναι τι.

(3) εἰς Θεὸς ὁ πατὴρ ἐξ οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς εἰς αὐτὸν, καὶ εἰς Κύριος Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς δι' οὗ τὰ πάντα καὶ ἡμεῖς δι' αὐτοῦ."

"Howbeit," he adds, "the γνῶσις is not granted to all"—

ἀλλ' οὐκ ἐν πᾶσιν ἡ γνῶσις.<sup>1</sup>

In these verses again we have three statements made, and each is appealed to as a matter of intimate knowledge. If it be said that the second of these is little more than a *quotation* from the decalogue, and that the first is a *reference* to the second commandment likewise, I should not feel any very great reluctance to concede the point so far as those two quotations are concerned; but it will certainly not be contended that the sixth verse could be derived from any but a Christian source, and that it is an actual quotation from such a document as I have before referred to seems to me to be obvious.

Once more, in the eleventh chapter of the First Epistle to the Corinthians, a passage which has before been alluded to, St. Paul writes, at the twenty-third verse (1 Cor. xi. 23-25): "For I received from the Lord that which I also delivered to you, *viz.* this (ὅτι recitative), 'The Lord Jesus, in the night that He was betrayed, took bread, and, after giving thanks, He brake, and said . . .'" Then follow the remarkable verses which give the Pauline version of the institution of the Lord's Supper, ending with the twenty-sixth verse; where the Apostle resumes the argument which the quotation had interrupted, and explains the bearing of that quotation upon the subject in hand. What is to be insisted

<sup>1</sup> For this use of ἐν compare 1 Cor. ii. 6, σοφίαν λαλοῦμεν ἐν τοῖς τελείοις. It is hardly necessary to point out that the rendering of our version which represents the article as used for the demonstrative ("that knowledge") is untenable. There is no instance in the Greek of the New Testament of this use of the article.

For the sentiment expressed, compare 2 Thess. iii. 2 . . . οὐ γὰρ πάντων ἡ πίστις.



on however is that the twenty-third, twenty-fourth, and twenty-fifth verses are actual quotations, expressly introduced by that same particle of which the Apostle makes such frequent use.

In the Second Epistle to the Corinthians, there is if possible a still more obvious quotation. In the fifth chapter, at the thirteenth verse, St. Paul says (2 Cor. v. 13), “with a brave religious scorn,” “For whether we are mad, it is on God’s behalf, or whether we are of sound mind, it is on yours; for Christ’s love constraineth us, after deciding this (*κρίναντας τοῦτο*), *viz.* (again the particle *ὅτι* introduces the quotation), *εἰ εἰς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν, ἄρα οἱ πάντες ἀπέθανον· καὶ ὑπὲρ πάντων ἀπέθανεν ἵνα οἱ ζῶντες μηκέτι ἑαυτοῖς ζῶσιν ἀλλὰ τῷ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν ἀποθανόντι καὶ ἐγερθέντι*: “if one died for all, then all died; and He did die for all, that the living should no more live for themselves, but for Him who died for them and rose.”

The next passage I shall adduce is to be found in the thirteenth chapter of the Epistle to the Hebrews (Heb. xiii. 7); and it is a remarkable one, because the document or symbol there quoted is designated by the distinctive title *ἡ πίστις*. I allude to the seventh verse:

*Μνημονεύετε τῶν ἡγουμένων ὑμῶν, οἵτινες ἐλάλησαν ὑμῖν τὸν λόγον τοῦ Θεοῦ, ὧν ἀναθεωροῦντες τὴν ἔκβασιν τῆς ἀναστροφῆς μιμείσθε τὴν πίστιν*

*Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς χθὲς καὶ σήμερον ὁ αὐτὸς καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας.*

Adopting the interpretation of *ἔκβασιν* given by Dean Alford, though it is far from certain, and bearing in mind that *μιμείσθαι* is used only once more in the New Testament with an inanimate object [*viz.* in the Third Epistle of St. John ver. 11, *μὴ μιμοῦ τὸ κακὸν*, “do not take evil as your pattern to copy”], and that *μιμητὴς* is probably never used at all with an inanimate object (unless in 1 Peter iii. 13 we read with Tischendorf, as against Lachmann and Tregelles,

ἐὰν τοῦ ἀγαθοῦ μιμηταὶ γένησθε, “if ye take good as your pattern to copy”), I translate the passage thus:

“Remember your leaders, who spake to you the word of the Lord, the end of whose course as ye keep in view, take as your pattern the πίστις,” viz.

“Jesus Christ, the same yesterday and to-day and for ever.”

Then, in marked contrast, he adds, “As for *various and strange teachings*, be not carried away by *them*.” Unless the eighth verse be regarded as a quotation, I am unable to understand its connexion with what precedes or follows.

It is however when we enter upon a critical examination of the pastoral epistles that the evidence in favour of the existence of these early formularies, and the number of unmistakable quotations from them, become absolutely overwhelming. Nay, the very peculiarity of the language employed, and the frequency of the citations, have actually been made the main ground of argument for rejecting these epistles as spurious by those barren and hungry critics whose business in life seems to be to reduce all belief to a minimum.

In the pastoral epistles there are at least eight different terms used for designating the early Christian formularies referred to and cited. These are (1) ἡ παραγγελία; (2) ἡ διδασκαλία, or ἡ ὑγιαίνουσα διδασκαλία, or ἡ καλὴ διδασκαλία; (3) ἡ πίστις; (4) ἡ διδαχή; (5) ἡ καλὴ ὁμολογία; (6) ἡ παραθήκη, or ἡ καλὴ παραθήκη (for which some, on wholly insufficient evidence, read παρακαταθήκη); (7) τὸ μυστήριον τῆς πίστεως, or τὸ μυστήριον τῆς εὐσεβείας; (8) ὁ πιστὸς λόγος.

It cannot be denied that there is something very striking in the way in which the Apostle, in these his last epistles, dwells again and again upon the importance of adhering to the formularies which he designates by these peculiar terms.

If we assume that these pastoral epistles were composed during a second imprisonment at Rome, and very shortly before his martyrdom, it is no more than reasonable to suppose that between the two imprisonments an authoritative confession of faith or summary of doctrine, supplementary to the first and shorter symbol, was drawn up by the surviving Apostles and elders of the apostolic Churches as a safeguard against the troubles that now began to threaten on all sides, and as a sacred deposit which the teachers especially, and perhaps too the taught, were charged to keep in trust for future times. Be that however as it may, here we have in these epistles unmistakable evidence of the existence of some such document, from whatever source it emanated, and, as I shall now proceed to show, we have unmistakable quotations from it in the epistles themselves.

In the First Epistle to Timothy i. 3, St. Paul expressly states that his object in bidding Timothy to remain in Ephesus was *ἵνα παραγγείλῃς τισὶ μὴ ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν*. But how *could* a man be a teacher of a *different* doctrine unless there were some standard from which to differ? <sup>1</sup>

Accordingly, St. Paul immediately, at ver. 5, proceeds to indicate what that standard is; he calls it *ἡ παραγγελία*—the *εὐαγγέλιον* was one thing, the *παραγγελία* was its supplement and comment—and he says that the object (*τὸ τέλος*) of that *παραγγελία* was love. Proceeding to talk of the law and its province, he says it is concerned with the wicked and immoral, and (at the tenth verse) with everything that is opposed to the wholesome teaching, *καὶ εἴ τι ἕτερον τῇ ὑγιαίνουσῃ διδασκαλίᾳ*; then, breaking out

<sup>1</sup> Entirely assenting, as we must needs do, to the dictum of Mr. Shilleto,—that “*ἕτερος* and *ἄλλος* are marvellously confounded in Greek” (Thuc. i., xlviii. § 2)—and perfectly aware, as I am, that the Greek of the New Testament scarcely recognises any distinction in meaning in the two *adjectives*, I cannot admit that the notion of *diversity* is even faintly lost sight of in the compounds *ἑτερόγλωσσος* (1 Cor. xiv. 21), *ἑτεροζυγεῖν* (2 Cor. vi. 14), or *ἑτεροδιδασκαλεῖν* (1 Tim. i. 3 and vi. 3).

into one of his characteristic bursts of adoring gratitude for the miracle of mercy wrought upon himself, he says (1 Tim. i. 15), at the fifteenth verse, πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, "Faithful is the word, and worthy of all acceptance," viz. (for the ὅτι, as so frequently noticed, is here again recitative, and marks the quotation), "Christ Jesus came into the world to save sinners." The fifteenth verse can be no other than a quotation, the particle ὅτι indicating that the citation is a verbal one.

In the second chapter the Apostle is insisting on the necessity of women being silent in the assemblies of the Church (1 Tim. ii. 13). "For," says he, "Adam was *first* formed, then Eve. And Adam was not the one deceived, but it was the woman who committed the transgression when she had been deceived, yet she shall be saved *by the childbirth*." What childbirth?

The allusion is to the promise given after the fall—the first announcement of the coming of the Deliverer in the person of the Son of man: "The Seed of the woman shall bruise the serpent's head." Then St. Paul once more gives a quotation ἐὰν μείνωσιν ἐν πίστει καὶ ἀγάπῃ καὶ ἀγιασμῷ μετὰ σωφροσύνης—πίστος ὁ λόγος.<sup>1</sup>

Of all the stumbles that Robert Stephens made, *inter equitandum*, only one seems to me to have been more unfortunate than his division of the chapters at this point. The old lectionary of the Church of England makes the best of the bad blunder by ordering that both the second and third chapters should be read on the 19th of March, the 18th of July, and the 14th of November; but as long as the chapters remain divided as they are in our Bibles, the unlearned though thoughtful reader will never cease to marvel how it could be a *faithful saying* that if any one desireth the office of a bishop he desireth a good work!

And yet our *Revisers* entertain little or no doubt that

<sup>1</sup> See Shilleto on Thuc. i. 120.



a hankering after the episcopal office is, not only a desirable craving which all Christians may indulge, but that it is one which needed an apostolic counsel to emphasize in the old days, and would require to be stimulated in days to come!

The next passage calling for examination is the famous one in 1 Timothy iii. 16. This is not the time to enter into any discussion on the reading of the verse, indeed  $\delta\varsigma$  for  $\Theta\epsilon\delta\varsigma$  is now accepted by almost every scholar qualified to have an opinion on the point. But how to account for the anacoluthon  $\delta\varsigma$  is the difficulty; a difficulty which was felt so much by the early copyists, that in many copies  $\delta\varsigma$  was actually altered to  $\delta$ . Treat the words that follow as a quotation, and the whole passage becomes clear; the  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\varsigma$  of ver. 16 is the  $\mu\upsilon\sigma\tau\acute{\eta}\rho\iota\omicron\nu\tau\eta\varsigma\ \pi\acute{\iota}\sigma\tau\epsilon\omega\varsigma$  of the ninth, and the  $\delta\iota\delta\alpha\sigma\kappa\alpha\lambda\acute{\iota}\alpha\ \kappa\alpha\tau'\ \epsilon\upsilon\sigma\epsilon\beta\epsilon\iota\alpha\nu\ \omicron\iota$  chapter vi. 3; and these are some of its sayings,

$\epsilon\phi\alpha\nu\epsilon\rho\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$	. . .	$\epsilon\nu\ \sigma\alpha\rho\kappa\acute{\iota}$ ,
$\epsilon\delta\iota\kappa\alpha\iota\acute{\omega}\theta\eta$	. . .	$\epsilon\nu\ \pi\nu\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ ,
$\acute{\omega}\phi\theta\eta$	. . .	$\acute{\alpha}\gamma\gamma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\iota\varsigma$ ,
$\epsilon\kappa\eta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\chi\theta\eta$	. . .	$\epsilon\nu\ \epsilon\theta\nu\epsilon\sigma\iota\nu$ ,
$\epsilon\pi\iota\sigma\tau\epsilon\acute{\upsilon}\theta\eta$	. . .	$\epsilon\nu\ \kappa\acute{\omicron}\sigma\mu\omicron$ ,
$\acute{\alpha}\nu\epsilon\lambda\acute{\eta}\mu\phi\theta\eta$	. . .	$\epsilon\nu\ \delta\acute{\omicron}\xi\eta$ .

Whether this extract may be considered metrical or not I dare not presume to decide, but that the whole structure of the passage suggests that it was composed with a view to its being used in the congregation antiphonally is, to say the least, highly probable.

This view is strongly confirmed by another quotation in the Second Epistle. In the second chapter, at the ninth verse, he says, "I am suffering hardship even to imprisonment ( $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\chi\rho\iota\ \delta\epsilon\sigma\mu\acute{\omega}\nu$ ), but the word of God is not imprisoned ( $\acute{\omicron}\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma\ \tau\omicron\upsilon\ \Theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon\ \omicron\upsilon\ \delta\acute{\epsilon}\delta\epsilon\tau\alpha\iota$ )"; and then at the eleventh verse he adds  $\pi\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\varsigma\ \acute{\omicron}\ \lambda\acute{\omicron}\gamma\omicron\varsigma$ , "faithful is that word" (of

course the πιστός is a predicate, and not a mere attribute); then he quotes it,—

εἰ [γὰρ]<sup>1</sup> συναπεθάνομεν, . καὶ συνζήσομεν  
 εἰ ὑπομένομεν, . . . [καὶ] συνβασιλεύσομεν  
 εἰ ἀρνησόμεθα, . . . . καὶ ἐκεῖνος ἀρνήσεται ἡμᾶς  
 εἰ ἀπιστοῦμεν, . . . . ἐκεῖνος πιστὸς μένει  
 ἀρνήσασθαι . . . . . ἑαυτὸν οὐ δύναται.

For the exposition of the particle γὰρ in the eleventh verse, there is an exact parallel in another quotation in the First Epistle (1 Tim. iv. 9);

πιστὸς ὁ λόγος καὶ πάσης ἀποδοχῆς ἄξιος, “Faithful is the word, and it deserves all acceptance”;

εἰς τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ κοπιῶμεν καὶ ὀνειδιζόμεθα, ὅτι ἡλπίκαμεν ἐπὶ Θεῷ ζῶντι, ὃς ἐστὶ σωτὴρ πάντων μάλιστα πιστῶν.

Only one more quotation remains, but with regard to that I confess to a feeling of considerable uncertainty. The passage I allude to occurs in the third chapter of the Epistle to Titus, at the eighth verse. That there is a quotation is undeniable, for the usual formula (πιστὸς ὁ λόγος—“faithful is the word”), which occurs five times in these pastoral epistles, indicates this; I hesitate however to decide whether that formula refers to the words that go before, δικαιωθέντες τῇ ἐκείνου χάριτι κληρονόμοι γεννηθῶμεν κατ’ ἐλπίδα ζωῆς αἰωνίου, or whether they refer to what follows, φροντίζωσι καλῶν ἔργων προΐστασθαι οἱ πεπιστευκότες Θεῷ. On the one hand, we are reminded of an expression in the Epistle to the Romans viii. 24, τῇ γὰρ ἐλπίδι ἐσώθημεν, “For we were saved (i.e. put into a condition of salvation at our baptism) with the hope”; as though ἡ ἐλπίς were a familiar term having a prominent position in the πιστὸς λόγος. On the other hand, we cannot overlook the evident repetition of the injunction, φροντίζειν καλὰ ἔργα προΐστασθαι, in ver. 14, μανθανέτωσαν δὲ καὶ οἱ ἡμέτεροι καλῶν ἔργων

<sup>1</sup> For the omission of γὰρ, see Tisch. and Tregelles.

προϊστασθαι εἰς τὰς ἀναγκαίας χρείας. It is not impossible that both the words which precede and those which follow the expression πιστὸς ὁ λόγος may all be extracted from the same document, and the occurrence of the final particle ἵνα lends colour to this view.

I have now completed the examination of all those passages in the apostolic writings which appear to me to contain quotations from or references to primitive formulæ. It is not to be supposed that any one document contained them all. Rather is it much more likely that we have in these passages so quoted extracts from compositions differing widely in character or perhaps even in authority. Some of these passages must have come from "Formulæ for Instruction of Catechumens before Baptism, and for customary Rehearsal after Baptism, or for the Interrogatives used at the actual time of Baptism";<sup>1</sup> some from the fuller and more expanded expositions of primitive doctrine, intended for those more advanced in Christian knowledge. Some appear to have been derived from liturgies used in public worship, some possibly from directions addressed to the ordained officers of the Church.<sup>2</sup> It may be that many more

<sup>1</sup> Heurtley, *Harmonia Symbolica*, preface.

<sup>2</sup> No one, I think, could read the Διδαχὴ τῶν Δώδεκα Ἀποστόλων and dream of claiming for it any *authority* as a recognised summary of Christian doctrine. It is clearly an early Christian *tract* of some good man, who felt called upon to give his views on certain points of Christian duty and practice. It is a word of warning and advice, and little more. The thirteenth chapter of the tract does however refer to some rule of discipline to which appeal could be made and which may have been of the apostolic age, or may, on the other hand, have been a rule derived from apostolic teaching, and formulating such *principles* as are laid down in Heb. xiii. 7, 1 Tim. v. 17, etc. The curious *Liturgical Fragments* in the ninth and tenth chapters go some way to prove that these forms of prayer were usual, and indeed well established; and the remarkable injunctions regarding fasting and the sacrament of baptism (chaps. vi. and vii.) clearly indicate that within a century after our Lord's ascension the Churches had adopted and were governed by certain ordinances which were very different in form, and entered much more into details than those earlier ones of which we read in the eighteenth chapter of the Acts.

such citations remain to be pointed out. I shall be satisfied if scholars will accept these suggestions, and correct or confirm, and possibly supplement them.

AUG. JESSOPP.

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## THE EPISTLE TO THE HEBREWS.

### XV. THE ANCIENT TABERNACLE (CHAP. IX. 1-10).

THE writer now proceeds to compare the old and the new covenants with reference to their respective provisions for religious communion between man and God, his purpose being to show the superiority of the priestly ministry of Christ over that of the Levitical priesthood. In the first five verses of the section now to be considered he gives an inventory of the furniture of the tabernacle pitched in the wilderness; in the next five he describes the religious services there carried on. Thereafter he proceeds to describe in contrast the ministry of Christ, the new covenant High Priest, as performed in the greater and more perfect tabernacle, not made with hands.

The first paragraph simply continues the train of thought, and hence the subject of the affirmation in ver. 1 is left to be understood: "Now (οὖν leading back to viii. 5) the first (covenant) had ordinances of Divine service and its mundane sanctuary." The epithet *κοσμικόν* here applied to the tabernacle evidently signifies belonging to this material world, in opposition to the heavenly sanctuary (ver. 11) not made with hands out of things visible and tangible. Some have rendered "ornate," or well ordered, for which however the usual Greek word is *κόσμιος*. The purpose of the writer is to point out that the tabernacle belonged to this earth, and therefore possessed the attributes of



all things earthly, materiality and perishableness. The materials might be fine and costly; still they were material, and as such were liable to wax old and vanish away.

In vers. 2-5 is given a detailed description of the arrangements and furniture of this cosmic sanctuary. It is represented as divided into two parts, each of which is called a tabernacle, distinguished as first and second; and the articles contained in, or belonging to, each compartment are carefully specified. "For there was prepared a tabernacle, the first, wherein were the candlestick, and the table, and the shew-bread; which is called the Holy place. But behind the second veil, the tabernacle which is called the Holy of holies; having a golden altar of incense, and the ark of the covenant covered on all sides with gold, wherein (was) a golden pot containing manna, and Aaron's rod that budded, and the tables of the covenant; and above it cherubim of glory overshadowing the mercy-seat; of which I cannot now speak severally." The tabernacle called in ver. 3 "the Holy of holies" is in ver. 7 called "the second." The veil between the Holy place and the most Holy place is called the second veil, to distinguish it from the curtain at the door of the tent, which is regarded as the first.

The *inventory* of the tabernacle furniture here given offers several points for consideration. Looking at it as a whole, what strikes one is the great care taken to give a full list of the articles, and also to describe them, specially those of costly material. Several things are named which have no bearing on the comparison between the old and new covenants, no counterparts in the Christian sanctuary, apparently for no other reason than just that the list might be complete. No valuator could be more careful to make an inventory of household furniture perfectly accurate than our author is to give an exhaustive list of the articles to be found in the Jewish tabernacle, whether in the Holy place or in the most Holy. Indeed so careful is he to make the

list complete, not only in his own judgment, but in the judgment of his readers, that he includes things which had no connexion with religious worship, but were merely put into the tabernacle for safe custody, as valuable mementos of incidents in Israel's history; *e.g.* the golden pot of manna, and Aaron's rod that budded. It is further to be noted in regard to these articles, that they are represented as being within the ark of the covenant, though it is nowhere in the Old Testament said that they were, the direction given being merely that they should be placed before the Testimony,<sup>1</sup> and it being expressly stated in regard to the ark in Solomon's temple that there was nothing in it save the two tables on which the ten commandments were inscribed.<sup>2</sup> Whether these things ever had been in the ark we do not know. The fact that they are here represented to have been does not settle the point. The writer speaks not by inspiration, or from his own knowledge, but simply in accordance with traditional belief. The rabbis held that the golden pot and Aaron's rod were placed not only before, but inside the ark; and the Jews generally accepted this opinion. And our author is content to state the case as his readers might have stated it. He has no interest or wish to deny the truth of the opinion; on the contrary, his whole purpose in making the enumeration gives him rather an interest in acquiescing in current opinion on the point. For he desires to convince his readers of the superior excellence of the priestly ministry of Christ, and it is a part of his art as an orator to go as far as he honestly can in pleasing those whom he would persuade. If they think that it makes the golden pot and the budding rod more precious to have them inside the ark, why then, let it be so. He acts like a valuator describing certain articles greatly valued by surviving relatives as heirlooms that had belonged to a

<sup>1</sup> Exod. xvi. 32-34; Num. xvii. 10.

<sup>2</sup> 1 Kings viii. 9.

deceased friend. The valuator sees well enough that the articles in question are of little intrinsic worth, and knows that they would bring little money if sold. But he knows also the superstitious veneration with which the old relics are regarded by the kinsfolk of the departed; so he takes care how he speaks about them, that he may not shock natural feeling by assigning to them their real as distinct from their imaginary sentimental value.

To the same motive is due the careful manner in which notice is taken of the fact that certain articles of furniture had *gold* about them. The writer wishes to avoid the slightest suspicion of ungenerous disparagement. He is required by truth to disparage the old covenant as a whole, in comparison with the new; but he desires to speak of its ordinances and properties with becoming respect, as things regarded with peculiar reverence by his readers, and even held in high esteem by himself. While his doctrine is that the ancient tabernacle was at best but a poor, shadowy affair, he takes pains to show that in his judgment *it was as good as it was possible for a cosmic sanctuary to be*. Its articles of furniture were of the best material; the ark of fine wood covered all over with gold, the altar of incense of similar materials, the pot with manna of pure gold. He feels he can afford to describe in generous terms the furniture of the tabernacle, because, after all, he will have no difficulty in showing the immeasurable superiority of the "true" tabernacle wherein Christ ministers. One single phrase settles the point—*οὐ χειροποίητος* (ver. 11). The old tabernacle and all its furniture were made by the hands of men out of perishable materials. The curtains might be fine in texture and ornamentation, and the wood employed in constructing the tables the most beautiful and durable that could be procured. Still all was material, all was fashioned by human handicraft, all was doomed to wax old and vanish away. The "gold, and silver, and brass, and

the blue, purple, and scarlet cloths, and the fine linen, and goats' hair, and rams' skins dyed red, and badgers' skins, and shittim wood," were all liable to destruction by the devouring tooth of time, that spares nothing visible and tangible.

This eulogistic style of describing the furniture of the cosmic tabernacle was not only generous, but *politic*. The more the furniture was praised, the more the religious service carried on in the tent so furnished was in effect depreciated by the contrast inevitably suggested. In this point of view there is a latent irony in the reference to the precious materials of which the articles were made. The emphasis laid on the excellent quality of these really signifies the inferiority of the whole Levitical system. It says to the ear of the thoughtful: "The furniture of the tabernacle was golden, but its worship was poor; the outward aspect of things was fine, but the spiritual element was weak and defective; the apparatus was costly, but the practical religious result was of small account. The whole system was barbaric and beggarly, placing value in the outside, rather than in the inside, in matter rather than in mind, in the costliness of the furniture rather than in the high intelligence and refined purity of the cultus there carried on."

Looking now at the inventory distributively, let us note what articles are placed in either compartment of the tabernacle respectively. In the first are located the candlestick, the table, and the shew-bread, which was arranged in two rows on the table; to the second are assigned what is called the *θυμιατήριον*, and the ark of the covenant, containing, as is said, the manna pot, Aaron's rod, and the tables of the covenant, and surmounted by the Cherubim of glory shadowing the mercy-seat, or lid of the ark.

After finishing his enumeration, the writer adds that he cannot speak of the things enumerated in detail. Neither can I. The only article of which there is any need to speak



“particularly” is the *θυμιατήριον*, concerning which there are two questions to be considered: What is it? and with what propriety is it assigned to the most Holy place? As to the former, the word *θυμιατήριον* may mean either “the altar of incense,” as I have rendered it, or “the golden censer,” as translated in the Authorized and Revised Versions. It is, as Alford remarks, “a neuter adjective, importing anything having regard to, or employed in, the burning of incense,” and “may therefore mean either an altar upon which, or a censer in which, incense was burned.” The word occurs in Greek authors in both senses, and great division of opinion has arisen among commentators as to which of the two senses is to be preferred here. In favour of the rendering “censer” is a passage in the Mishna, in which stress is laid on the censer to be used on the great day of atonement as distinguished from that used on any other day, on the fact of its being of gold, and not only so, but of a particular and precious kind of gold. No mention of such a golden censer occurs in the Pentateuch. In Leviticus xvi. 12, where directions are given to Aaron concerning the incense offering, we read: “He shall take a censer full of burning coals of fire from off the altar before the Lord, and his hands full of sweet incense beaten small, and bring it within the veil: and he shall put the incense upon the fire before the Lord, that the cloud of the incense may cover the mercy-seat that is upon the testimony, that he die not.” In this passage the Greek name for the censer in the Septuagint is τὸ πύρελον; the censer is not called golden; and, lastly, it could not from the nature of the case be kept in the most Holy place, for the high priest would then have had to go in for it in order to use it, a very unlikely procedure, considering that the very purpose of its use was to make it safe for the officiating priest to go within the veil. Still there may have been a censer, distinguished as the golden one, employed

in after ages in the solemnities of the great day of atonement; and it is conceivable that, following Jewish tradition in this as in other particulars already referred to, the writer might include it in his enumeration.

Conceivable, but that is all: the supposition is highly improbable. For observe what would follow. One very important article of furniture, the golden altar of incense, would in that case find no place in the enumeration. Is it at all likely that so prominent a piece of furniture would be overlooked in an inventory designed to give a full list of the articles that were the glory and boast of the ancient sanctuary? I do not suppose there would be any hesitation on the subject, were it not for the consideration, that by deciding that the altar of incense is intended we seem to make the writer guilty of an inaccuracy in assigning it to the inner shrine of the tabernacle. I have little doubt that this consideration had its own weight with our Revisers in leading them to retain the old rendering, "the golden censer"; and the fact detracts from the value of their judgment, as based, not on the merits of the question, but on the ground of theological prudence. A clearer insight into the mind of the writer would have shown them that this well-meant solicitude for his infallibility was uncalled for.

This brings us to the question as to the propriety of placing the altar of incense among the things belonging to the most Holy place. On this point even such a considerate interpreter as Bleek has not hesitated to say that the writer has fallen into a mistake, not without its bearing on the question of authorship, as showing that the epistle could not have been written by an inhabitant of Palestine, who would have known better, but may with more probability be ascribed to an Alexandrian, who might excusably be imperfectly informed. But it is not credible that so able and well instructed a writer as the author of our epistle, whoever he was, shows himself on every page to be could

commit such a blunder as is imputed to him, that, *viz.*, of locating the altar of incense within rather than without the second veil.<sup>1</sup>

But why then, it may be asked, does he not mention this altar among the articles to be found in the first division of the tabernacle? The answer is of vital importance in its bearing on the main doctrine of the epistle, the utter insufficiency of the Levitical system. The fact is, that the altar of incense was a puzzle to one who was called on to state to which part of the tabernacle it belonged. Hence the peculiar manner in which the writer expresses himself in reference to the things assigned to the most Holy place. He does not say, as in connexion with the first division, "in which were" (ἐν ᾗ), but represents it as "having" (ἔχουσα) certain things. The phrase is chosen with special reference to the altar of incense. Of all the other articles it might have been said "in which were," but not of it. Nothing more could be said than that it *belonged* to the second division. The question is, whether even so much could be said, and why the writer preferred to say this rather than to say that the altar of incense stood outside the veil in the first division. Now as to the former part of the question, in so putting the matter our author was only following an Old Testament precedent, the altar of incense being in 1 Kings vi. 22 called the altar "that was by the oracle," or more correctly, as in the Revised Version, the

<sup>1</sup> In his latest work, *Das Urchristenthum*, Pfeleiderer repeats the assertion that the writer makes a mistake as to the altar of incense, and presses it, along with other supposed mistakes (*e.g.* the daily offering of sacrifice by the high priest, chap. x. 11) into the service of his argument as to the destination and authorship of the epistle. As a note on a following page will show, he might have found in the writings of Philo, from which he supposes our author to have drawn freely, a hint of a solution that would have kept him from bringing so hasty a charge. Having referred to this bulky work on primitive Christianity, I may remark that in it the distinguished author appears as weak in criticism as he is strong in exegesis. Herein he differs notably from his contemporary B. Weiss, who is masterly in criticism, but wooden and unsympathetic in exegesis.

altar "that belonged to the oracle." Then the directions given for fixing its position, as recorded in Exodus xxx. 6, are very significant. The rubric runs: "Thou shalt put it before the veil that is by the ark of the Testimony, before the mercy-seat that is over the Testimony, where I will meet with thee." The purport of this directory seems to be: outside the veil for daily use (for within it could not be used save once a year), but tending inwards, indicating by its very situation a wish to get in, standing there, so to speak, at the door of the most Holy place, petitioning for admission. So the eloquent eulogist of the better ministry of the new covenant appears to have understood it. He thinks of the altar of incense as praying for admission into the inner shrine, and waiting for the removal of the envious veil which forbade entrance. And he so far sympathises with its silent prayer as to admit it within the veil before the time, or at least to acknowledge that, while materially without, it belonged in spirit and function to the most Holy place.

In stating the case as he does our author was not only following usage, but utilizing the double relations of the altar of incense for the purposes of his apologetic. He wanted to make it felt that the position of that altar was difficult to define, that it was both without and within the veil, that you could not place it exclusively in either position without leaving out something that should be added to make the account complete. And he wished to press home the question, What was the cause of the difficulty? The radical evil, he would suggest, was the *existence* of the veil. It was the symbol of an imperfect religion, which denied men free access to God, and so was the parent of this anomaly, that the altar of incense had to be in two places at the same time: within the veil, as there were the mercy-seat and the Hearer of prayer; without the veil, because the incense of prayer must be offered daily, and yet no one



might go within save the high priest, and he only once a year. How thankful, then, should we be that the veil is done away, so that the distinction of without and within no longer exists, and we may come daily to offer the incense of our prayers in the very presence of God, without fear of evil, with perfect "assurance to be heard"!<sup>1</sup>

After the inventory of its furniture comes an account of the ministry carried on in the Jewish sanctuary (vers. 6-10); the description of which, coming after the former, has all the effect of an anticlimax. One can hardly fail to say to himself, What a fall is here! The furniture was precious, but the worship how poor! I read first of golden arks, altars, and pots, and then of sacrifices, ceremonies, meats, drinks, divers washings—mere fleshly ordinances, utterly unfit to put away sin. Without any commentary, the two lists placed side by side tell their own tale. Every one capable of reflection feels that a religious system in which the vessels of the sanctuary are so much superior to the *service* cannot be the final and permanent form of man's communion with God, but only a type or parable for the time of better things to come, that could last only till the era of reformation arrived.

This truth, however, the writer does not leave to be inferred, but expressly points out and proves. On two things he insists, as tending to show the insufficiency and therefore the transiency of the Levitical system, and all that pertained to it. First, he asserts that the mere division of the tabernacle into an accessible Holy place and an

<sup>1</sup> A thought similar to the one above stated occurs in Philo in reference, not to the altar of incense, but to the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. Observing that it is not expressly said in Scripture where it was placed, he asks, "What shall we say?" and decides that it was both within and without paradise—within as to essence, without as to power: οὐσίᾳ μὲν ἐν αὐτῷ, δυνάμει δὲ ἐκτός; just the converse of what I have said of the altar of incense, which was within the Holy of holies as to power, without as to essence. Vide *Alleg.* i., chap. xviii.

inaccessible most Holy place proved the imperfection of the worship there carried on; and, secondly, he points out the disproportion between the great end of religion and the means employed for reaching it under the Levitical system. The former of these positions is dealt with in vers. 6-8, the latter in vers. 9, 10.

The method in which religious worship was carried on in the tabernacle is stated in these terms: "These things being thus prepared, the priests go in continually into the first tabernacle, accomplishing their services; but into the second, once in the year, alone, the high priest, not without blood, which he offers for himself, and for the ignorances of the people."<sup>1</sup> The purpose of this statement is to convey a vivid impression of inaccessibility in reference to the most Holy place, which is done by emphasizing three particulars: (1) that no ordinary priest, not to speak of lay persons, ever entered there, only the high priest; (2) that even the high priest entered only once a year;<sup>2</sup> (3) that he dared not enter without the blood of a victim, to make atonement for his own sins and for the sins of the whole people. The inaccessibility was not absolute, but the solitary exception made the sense of inaccessibility more intense than if there had been no exception. Had entrance been absolutely forbidden, men would have regarded the inner sanctuary as a place with which they had no concern, and would have ceased to think of it at all. But the admission of their highest representative in holy things on one solitary day in the year taught them that the most Holy place was a place with which they had to do, and at the same time showed it to be a place very difficult of access. The cere-

<sup>1</sup> The present tenses (*εἰσίσταν, προσφέρει*) are held by some to prove that when the epistle was written the temple service was still going on. But the argument is not conclusive. The present may be that of the Scripture record, the writer describing ideally as if the service were now going on.

<sup>2</sup> That is, on one day in the year; how often on that one day is of no consequence to the purpose on hand.

monial of the great day of atonement said in effect: You need to get in here, but it is barely possible to get in. You can be admitted only by deputy, as represented by your officially holy man; and even he may enter only at rare intervals, and with fear and trembling, with blood in his hands to atone for his and your sins. The door of the second tabernacle is all but shut against you; open just enough to keep alive in your hearts at once a sense of your need to get in, and the painful consciousness that your desire for admission is rather whetted than satisfied.

In the next verse our author intimates that just this was the import of the arrangement. "The Holy Ghost this (or by this arrangement) indicating that the way of (into) the Holy place has not yet been manifested, while the first tabernacle has a standing" (ver. 8). The idea is, that the exclusion from the inner part of the Jewish tabernacle, and the all but entire restriction of religious service to the outer part, signified "perfect intercourse with God not yet granted, the highest and therefore abiding form of religion a thing yet to come." The writer would have his readers see, in the mere fact of such a division of the tabernacle into a first and second chamber, a Divine intimation that there was a higher boon, a nearer approach to, a more intimate fellowship with God in store for men, which for the present was denied. The first part of the tabernacle, he would say, is yours; the second in its spiritual significance belongs to the future, to the time of Messiah, when all things are to undergo renovation. To cling to legal worship then as something that must last for ever is to shut your ear to the voice of the sanctuary itself, by its very structure bearing witness to its own insufficiency, and saying to all who have ears to hear: "I am not for aye. I have a first and a second chamber, a Near and a Nearer to God. The first and the Near is yours, O people of Israel, for daily use; the second and the Nearer is as good as shut against you.

When that which is perfect is come, the Nearer will be accessible to all, and the veil and the place outside and all the services that now go on there will cease to exist."

In some such sense as this are to be understood the words in the first clause of ver. 9: "Which (the existence, *i.e.*, or standing of the tabernacle as a first chamber)<sup>1</sup> is a parable for the time being." The sense is, that the outer part of the tabernacle, by its position as a first chamber, was a parable, not in word but in a fabric, teaching the temporary, shadowy, imperfect nature of the dispensation. Some think the time referred to is the time of the gospel, and that the idea is, that the services carried on in the holy place were a figure, and nothing more, of the spiritual services offered by Christians. But I think the Authorized Version is correct in making the time referred to be the time present to the Old Testament worshippers. The tabernacle was a parable even to them, bidding them look forward to the future, to the reality whereof it was but a rude sketch or adumbration.

It will be evident from the foregoing exposition how central to the author's system of thought is the conception of Christianity as the religion of free access, and with what truth that conception may be represented as the dogmatic kernel of the epistle.

We come now to the description of the service carried on in the Jewish sanctuary (vers. 9, 10). The aim and effect is to make the reader feel that the ritual was in keeping with the parabolic character of the sanctuary itself, the services not less than the structure of the tabernacle proclaiming it to be but a shadow of good things to come. "A parable in keeping with which are offered both gifts and sacrifices having no power to perfect as to

<sup>1</sup> The *ἡτις* refers to *στάσις*, "a standing or position such as." So Mr. Rendall, who remarks: "It is not the chamber itself (as in A.V.), but its position, which is a figure."



conscience him that serveth" (τὸν λατρεύοντα, either the officiating priest, or the people worshipping through him). That the legal sacrifices could not perfect the worshipper, whether priest or layman, as to conscience appears to the writer self-evident, and he states the truth as an axiom, hoping that his readers will say Amen to it. Of what limited avail those sacrifices were to put away sin is significantly hinted by the term ἀγνοήματα in ver. 7; which points to the fact that the sacrificial system dealt chiefly with mistakes in matters of ritual.<sup>1</sup>

Ver. 10, which gives some details regarding the system, is very loosely connected with the foregoing context. "Only with meats and drinks, and divers washings, ordinances of the flesh, imposed till a time of reformation." Two questions may be asked in reference to this loosely constructed sentence: (1) What is it that is called "ordinances of the flesh"? (2) In what relation do the meats and drinks and washings stand to the gifts and sacrifices?—are they the same things under different names, or something additional? The "ordinances" are doubtless the gifts and sacrifices of the preceding verse. The connexion of thought is: "gifts and sacrifices not having the power to perfect as to conscience, on the contrary, being mere ordinances of the flesh putting away ceremonial uncleanness." As to the meats, drinks, etc., I think they are neither altogether the same with the gifts and sacrifices, nor altogether different from them, but things that were very prominent in connexion with sacrifices,—there being meat offerings and drink

<sup>1</sup> Besides such ignorances there were other more real and serious offences for which sacrifices were prescribed = sins against the seventh, eighth, and ninth commandments. These were of the nature of exceptions proving the rule; they were included in the category of expiable offences for special reasons: *e.g.* in a case of keeping back something stolen, entrusted, lent, or found, when the sin was voluntarily confessed and could not otherwise have been proved. Similarly in the case of suppressing truth as a witness, and of the least aggravated offence against chastity, when the offenders were allowed to offer a trespass offering after the sin had been punished by scourging.

offerings prescribed by the law, and many washings connected with sacrifices and their occasions. They are referred to in a loose way to illustrate the grossly material nature of the whole religious services, and to justify the application of the depreciatory terms "ordinances of flesh." We may paraphrase the whole passage thus: "A parable in keeping with which are offered gifts and sacrifices not fit to perfect the worshipper as to conscience, but only, with their meats and drinks, and divers washings, and so forth, mere ordinances of flesh." Thus understood, the careless construction is studied, being an oratorical device to express impatience with the notion that such ceremonies could possibly cleanse the conscience. The writer speaks as Luther was wont to speak of penances, etc. The great reformer never came in the way of such things without getting into a holy rage at them, and relieving his feelings by a contemptuous enumeration, as if holding them up to scorn, and "making a show of them openly." A similar passage may be found in Paul's Epistle to the Colossians, just where the words now quoted occur: "If ye be dead with Christ, why, as though living in the world, are ye subject to ordinances, (or rather, why do ye dogmatise, saying,) Touch not, taste not, handle not?" The careless, offhand way in which the apostle gives examples of the habit he condemns, "Touch not this, taste not that, handle not a third thing," is expressive of the contempt he feels for the whole system which attached importance to such trivialities.

The expression, "time of reformation" (*καιρός διορθώσεως*), is one of several names given to the new Christian era from an Old Testament point of view. For those who lived under the moonlight of Jewish ordinances, and, conscious of its insufficiency, waited eagerly for the dawn of day, that era, the object of their hope, was the age to come, the time of a better hope, the time of refreshing, the day of redemption, or, as here, the time of rectification. This last

designation, if not the most poetical, is very appropriate. For when Christ, the High Priest of the good things to come, arrived, all defects inherent in the ancient system were remedied. The envious veil was removed, the multitude of inefficient sacrificial rites was replaced by one all-availing sacrifice; the problem of the pacification and purification of conscience was thoroughly dealt with; and religion became, not an affair of mechanical routine, but a rational spiritual service.

A. B. BRUCE.

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THE TWENTY-FOURTH PSALM.

PSALM xxiv. 3 (part), 8 (part):

*“Who shall ascend into the hill of Jehovah? . . .  
Who is the King of glory?”*

Two striking questions, even apart from the context. Mountain scenery spoke not to the ancients with the same thrilling and inspiring voice with which it speaks to us; and yet many a fair eastern mountain had that to give for which the traveller gladly ascended its wooded heights. But here, says the psalmist, is a mountain still more difficult, on moral, not physical grounds, than snow-white Hermon; it is the hill where Jehovah dwells. Who can venture to climb it? And the other question is equally searching. What is the King of glory like? How shall His nature be best described? A God can give but that which He has. Is the King of glory like unto or different from the nature which He has given to man? Upon the solution of the problem the whole character of a religion depends. Nobly has Charles Wesley described the soul's struggle to obtain an adequate one. From that truly great hymn, “Come, O Thou Traveller unknown,” how can I help quoting a single verse?—

“Wilt Thou not yet to me reveal  
Thy new, unutterable name?  
Tell me, I still beseech Thee, tell;  
To know it now resolved I am;  
Wrestling, I will not let Thee go,  
Till I Thy name, Thy nature know.”

But I wish, not directly to assume the Christian vantage-ground in answering these questions, but to consider how the magnificent psalm in which they occur may, with due regard to the laws of the human mind, be interpreted. I wish that we may learn how to make the reading and the



singing of the psalms, more than it sometimes is, a sacrifice of the intellect. To understand the 24th Psalm we must take it in connexion with the 23rd. The Song of the Shepherd concludes with the hope of dwelling in the house of Jehovah for ever; and the psalm before us, putting aside the solemn overture in vers. 1, 2, begins with a question as to the qualifications of those who can ascend the mountain where Jehovah dwells. The hope of Jehovah's lamb is not merely to spend all his days in the temple, much as he loves the house where he has so often "seen God's power and glory,"<sup>1</sup> it is to feel that wherever he may be, there the tent of his Shepherd is stretched above him—there he may be, inwardly at least, safe from his enemies—there he may experience that "lovingkindness" which, as a kindred psalm expresses it, "is better than life itself."<sup>2</sup> And now each Israelite who covets this high privilege of seeing, though but in a shadow, the face of God is taught to question himself as to his ability to pass the Divine tests. The verses in which this lesson is conveyed (vers. 2-5) remind us of the 15th Psalm, and both have a certain affinity to the declaration which the soul of a deceased person pronounces before the divine judge Osiris, according to the religion of Egypt. "I am pure, am pure, am pure" (from each of the transgressions mentioned), the soul repeats; and then, if it has spoken the truth, becomes justified, and enters into Elysium—the land of sunshine and fruitful fields which is the Egyptian heaven.<sup>3</sup> But our psalm does not only, nor even primarily, refer to the great final examination of souls, nor yet to the awful judgment spoken of in the 1st Psalm, when the wicked—the false Israelites—shall be "like the chaff which the wind driveth away,"<sup>4</sup> and God's people upon earth shall be, as the prophet said, "all

<sup>1</sup> Ps. lxiii. 2.<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxiii. 3.<sup>3</sup> Compare also the importance attached by Pindar to moral preparation for the future life.<sup>4</sup> Ps. i. 4.

righteous.”<sup>1</sup> Permissible as it would be to expound this psalm sometimes of a judgment to come, it relates primarily, not to the future, but to the present. A judgment is continually going on. God is ever distributing rewards and punishments; and if we only took a more spiritual and a less earthly view of His providential assignments, we should say, “Surely God is gracious unto Israel, even unto the pure in heart,”<sup>2</sup> because to them He gives, not those seeming goods for which worldlings crave, but those which never pass away—“faith, hope, charity,” and above all, the inward vision of God. It is to this last that one of the greatest of the mystic psalmists refers, when he says—

*“Thou makest known to me (not merely thou wilt make known) the path of life;*

*Near thy face is fulness of joys;*

*Pleasures are in thy right hand for evermore.”*<sup>3</sup>

The 24th Psalm, like that which precedes it, belongs to a group of very peculiar psalms—those which speak of being a guest in Jehovah’s house (Guest-psalms we may call them), the material house or sanctuary of Jehovah having almost become a grand metaphor for the spiritual presence-chamber discerned only by faith. Neither the Jewish Church, indeed, nor even its most advanced members, saw clearly whither the course of revelation was tending. The temple always held a place of special honour in their minds; it never quite became to any of them merely a symbol or material metaphor. But, as we shall see more and more, some of the psalmists were being guided to a view of forms which is almost Christian in its spirituality. They felt that, even when far from the temple, they could enjoy a very close communion with their God, not dissimilar in kind to that which they knew so well on Mount Zion. They could not have given a consistent and logical theory of their

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lx. 21.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 1.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xvi. 11.

experience, but the experience itself they recorded in their temple-songs, and they thus became true heralds of the gospel. How, in fact, could Jesus have won His disciples if Jeremiah and the psalmists had not first of all prepared the ground? The saying, "*Blessed are the pure in heart: for they shall see God,*" presupposes a spiritual movement among the Jews, the impulse to which was given by these illuminated teachers. Do not suppose that I shall try to find the full gospel in the 24th Psalm. It does not contain as large an evangelical element as some others, because it lacks that sweet mysticism which endears to us the 16th, the 63rd, and the 73rd. It is meant perhaps for beginners in the spiritual life. It tells us virtually that the only sacrifice which is acceptable to God is that of moral obedience; but it does not tell us how that obedience is to be rendered, and gives a very meagre description of it compared, for instance, with our Lord's in the beatitudes of His first sermon. Yet it says quite enough to stimulate spiritual ambition. "For whosoever hath, to him shall be given, and he shall have abundance."<sup>1</sup>

*"He that hath clean hands, and a pure heart;  
That hath not set his desire upon wickedness,  
And that hath not sworn deceitfully,—  
He shall receive a blessing from Jehovah,  
Even righteousness from the God of his salvation."*

Do you ask what blessing? I reply, one blessing to the worshipper as an individual, and another as a branch on the stem of God's Church; the blessing of the sense of God's love to him personally, and the blessing of "rejoicing" sooner or later "in the gladness of God's people, and giving thanks with his inheritance."<sup>2</sup> And the link between the two blessings is this, that without a spiritual movement in the individuals who form the nation, God's promise

<sup>1</sup> Matt. xiii. 12.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. cvi. 5 (Prayer-Book).

to the Church (which ideally is the nation) must remain unfruitful. And so to each of us the psalmist would say, Purity of heart and life is the one condition of all the best blessings. Each man must be in some sense his own John the Baptist before he can be admitted into the inner circle of the friends of Jesus.<sup>1</sup> If even a Jewish psalmist could say,

*"I wash mine hands in innocency,*

*And (so) would I compass thine altar, Jehovah,"*<sup>2</sup>

the sternest moral self-criticism cannot be too severe for those who would take part in the prayers, the praises, and the sacraments of the evangelical Church. Far from any of us be the spirit of the Pharisee! There is One who accompanies us in our self-criticism with eyes as keen as they are loving, and who breathes into us a holy discontent with any earthly attainments. From Him alone can we receive the purification which is better than that of hyssop, and without which no correction of the details of our life will be acceptable to God. For Christ is not only "the end of the Law," but the "end" or consummation of the Psalter. When the psalmist says, "Only he that hath clean hands and a pure heart can dare to ascend Jehovah's mountain," we must expand it by those words of St. Peter,<sup>3</sup> "purifying their hearts (*i.e.* their consciences) by faith," and again, "elect . . . unto obedience and sprinkling of the blood of Jesus Christ." And yet we must not despise even the somewhat bare catechism of this temple-poet, remembering that no Scripture is without an educational value, even for us with our (as we hope) advanced knowledge. It is well to turn back sometimes, as Lessing long ago advised his too sceptical countrymen, to the first pages of our

<sup>1</sup> Theodoret illustrates a partly parallel passage (Ps. xxv. 12) by John the Baptist's answer to the question, "What shall we do?"

<sup>2</sup> Ps. xxvi. 6.

<sup>3</sup> Acts xv. 9; 1 Pet. i. 2. It is unimportant for our present purpose who actually wrote these words, which are in the fullest sense Scriptures.



primer, and learn to sympathise with the 24th Psalm, when it says (ver. 6),—

*“Such is the race of those that inquire after Jehovah,  
Of those that seek the face of Jacob’s God.”*

And now notice the connexion between vers. 1 and 2 and those which follow. If we prepare ourselves aright to “stand in God’s holy place,” how exceeding great is our reward! For into whose presence is it that we enter? and whose are the “hands stretched out to draw us near”? It is He to whom “the earth belongeth and the fulness thereof,” who “founded it upon the seas, and established it upon the floods,” and who will “make new heavens and a new earth,” and regenerate a people who shall be “all righteous.”<sup>1</sup> And now add the distinctively Christian thought that it is also He who “spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all,” and does not the reward of our evangelical self-discipline shine with a still deeper, softer brightness? I know that we all have a tincture of Christianity, but it is only the consistent follower of a holy Saviour who can “receive the blessing” of a strong and undoubting faith in his own and the world’s future. It is only he who can look around on this magnificent but mysterious universe, not merely (like Job) with reverential awe, laying his hand upon his mouth, but with trustful, filial love, and exclaim, “How great, and rich, and strong is our Father!” And if such an one turns his gaze to the hazards and perils of our national history, is not the reward of a disciplined Christian character equally great? Who are the most hopeful politicians? Those who both in thought and in practice are most earnestly Christian.

And the editor of the psalm (for I scruple not to press one of the surest critical theories into the service of edification) has provided for the wants of such religious patriots both in the Jewish and—may I not add?—in the English

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lx. 21.

Church. He had by him a fragment of an older psalm, too beautiful to be left to perish, and joined it on, in the manner common to Jewish with Assyrian and Indian editors of sacred hymns, to the short Guest-psalm which precedes. Listen to the words of this fragment, which must originally have belonged to a processional hymn of victory, a Jewish *Te Deum*.

*"Lift up your heads, O ye gates,  
Yea, lift yourselves up, ye everlasting doors,  
That the King of glory may come in.  
'Who, then, is the King of glory?'  
'Jehovah the Strong and Valiant,  
Jehovah the Valiant in battle.'  
Lift up your heads, O ye gates,  
Yea, lift them up, ye everlasting doors.  
That the King of glory may come in.  
'Who is he then, the King of glory?'  
'Jehovah Sabáoth, he is the King of glory.'"*

Can you not imagine the scene? A hero of mighty stature approaches, alone, and "marching," as a prophet says, "in the greatness of his strength."<sup>1</sup> As he stands before his palace, a loyal cry bursts from his people, "*Lift up your heads, O ye gates.*" They mean that no gate of man's device is fit for so noble a king to enter by; just as the prophet whose work begins at Isaiah xl. would have the valleys exalted and the mountains and hills made low to prepare a highway for Jehovah.<sup>2</sup> For it is Jehovah, none else, who approaches. The gates, which the poet boldly endows with life, well know this; but for the pleasure of hearing His name, they ask, as if in surprise, "*Who is the King of glory?*" And again and again the answer echoes, "*Jehovah the Strong and Valiant, Jehovah the Valiant in battle, Jehovah Sabáoth is his name.*"

You may be sure that something more is meant by this

<sup>1</sup> Isa. lxxiii. 1.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. xl. 4.

than meets the ear. Throughout the post-exile period the temple was becoming more and more regarded as a symbol of the greater sanctuary not made with hands. The old popular notion of a territorial and local Deity had faded away, and the traditional names of God had received an ampler meaning. Jehovah was not merely the "God of the armies of Israel," but the God of all the hosts of heaven, the God of the stars and of the angels, and of all the forces of nature,—the God who needs not to descend from His throne, for at a word from Himself His will is done. The psalmist is therefore really thinking of the triumph of the omnipotent God in His heavenly sanctuary. This he figures as an ascent to the earthly temple, the gate of which is in his own time still called "the gate of Jehovah,"<sup>1</sup> and from which the poets and prophets still say that Jehovah issues forth to fight for His people.<sup>2</sup>

What deliverance was originally commemorated is uncertain. The song could be applied to many a grand interposition of "him that keepeth Israel." It was well fitted to raise the confidence of such a worshipper as is described in ver. 4 to be told that his covenant-God was far more than a match for the mightiest kings of the earth. For the devout Israelite subordinated his own joys and griefs to those of his people, and between the return from the Exile and the Maccabæan insurrection Israel was literally a "poor and needy" people, the natural prey of its stronger neighbours. To sing this hymn was therefore a heroic act of faith. It was a prophecy that Jehovah would not "give Israel over unto death," but would overthrow its most powerful enemies, both without and within, till a "new song" should be sung by a regenerate people on the great judgment-day.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. Ps. cxviii. 19, 20. Note also the prominence in the requirement of righteousness from those who enter these gates.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. lxvi. 6; cf. Zech. xiv. 3, Ps. lxviii. 35.

To persons of a mystic turn of mind, who felt the sweetness of the hidden life, and who had got far beyond the elementary teaching of vers. 3-6, we can hardly doubt that the latter part of the psalm (I mean the song, or fragment of a song, that was added on) supplied delightful material for pious meditation. In the synoptic gospels the prophetic summons in Isaiah xl. 3, 4, is interpreted metaphorically of the preparation of the heart.<sup>1</sup> And we have no reason to think that the symbolic interpretation of ancient phrases was altogether new in the time of the Evangelists. If the material temple had become virtually a symbol of the heart of the believing worshipper, who even "in a dry and weary land"<sup>2</sup> had immediate access to his God, may we not, in the spirit of the Evangelists and of their great copyist, John Bunyan, find a new and yet a true interpretation of these poetic words,

*"Lift up your heads, O ye gates, . . .  
That the King of glory may come in"?*

It is indeed no mere rhetorical figure that the heart has gates, which may be closed even against the King of glory. The wise men of Israel were accustomed to the idea that the spirit is to a man what a fortified city is to a country. "He that ruleth his spirit," says one, "is better than he that taketh a city."<sup>3</sup> "He that hath no rule over his own spirit," says another, "is like a city that is broken down and without walls."<sup>4</sup> "Keep thy heart with all diligence," says a third; "for out of it are the issues of life."<sup>5</sup> In this last passage, we see that the parable has become an allegory, the figure and the meaning of the figure being fused together. We may explain it, "Guard thy heart as thy best possession, for all good and evil influences proceed from

<sup>1</sup> Matt. iii. 3, Mark i. 3, Luke iii. 4.

<sup>2</sup> Ps. lxxiii. 1 (I hope to expound this psalm later).

<sup>3</sup> Prov. xvi. 32.

<sup>4</sup> Prov. xxv. 28.

<sup>5</sup> Prov. iv. 23.



it." But how *can* I guard my own heart? "Give me thy heart," is the reply of personified Wisdom; <sup>1</sup> anticipate the temptations of the world by early taking heed of her strict but wholesome precepts. And what is the Wisdom of Proverbs i.-ix. but God in so far as He reveals His all-wise purposes for man's present and future salvation? Jehovah Sabáoth was, to an Israelite in David's time, the God of battles; but He has become the God who conquers men by coming to them with moral and spiritual gifts, in order, by sharing their lowliness, to make them great: who does not remember the fine saying, "*Thy gentleness (or rather lowliness) made me great*"? <sup>2</sup> And so in the Second Isaiah we read, "*Thus saith the high and lofty One that abideth for ever, whose name is Holy One: I abide in the high and holy place, with him also that is contrite and humble in spirit, to revive the spirit of the humble, and to revive the heart of the contrite ones.*" <sup>3</sup> Illustrate the latter part of this psalm by such passages, and it will point onwards to the sweet 51st psalm, which bids us pray,

*"Create in me a clean heart, O God;*

*And renew within me a steadfast spirit."* <sup>4</sup>

Hitherto we have studied the two parts of the psalm in the order in which they have been placed by the Jewish editor. The psalm thus treated becomes a fitting Christmas hymn. For what is the spiritual meaning of the nativity, but that our "meek and lowly" Saviour loves to humble Himself anew in the poor lodging of each human heart? To one who feels that he cannot even obey the smallest of Wisdom's precepts, can neither get "clean hands" nor a "pure heart" in his own strength, and whose longing often is rather that Wisdom may become his guest, than he Wisdom's, the order of the Jewish editor is the natural one. Such an one first examines himself in the light of the

<sup>1</sup> Prov. xxiii. 26.

<sup>2</sup> Isa. lvii. 15.

<sup>3</sup> Ps. xviii. 35.

<sup>4</sup> Ps. li. 10.

question and answer in vers. 3-6, or that of their Christian equivalent the Beatitudes; and then with joyous but humble faith invites the Sinner's Friend to enter and purify his heart. For has not Wisdom said, "Behold, I stand at the door and knock: if any man hear my voice and open the door, I will come in to him, and will sup with him, and he with me"?<sup>1</sup> But there are times when another order of the two parts of the psalm seems more natural. He who follows the life of Christ with even more sympathy than the lover of poetry follows some epic or dramatic strain, would gladly forget himself and live in the great deeds of his Master. Such an one thinks of the lowly Son of man raised to the highest heavens as the reward of His obedience unto death, and mentally transposes the parts of the psalm, thus obtaining an appropriate hymn for Easter and Ascensiontide. Far above that star-bright vault which perhaps originally suggested the title "Jehovah of hosts," he follows his Lord—the Lord of hosts—with the inner eye, and takes up, with as much fervour as the most uncritical reader of the psalms the glowing Ascension Ode of an old northern poet,<sup>2</sup> which is in part but the 24th psalm rewritten,—

"Now each ethereal gate  
 To Him hath opened been;  
 And Glory's King in state  
 His palace enters in:  
 Now come is this High Priest  
 In the most holy place,  
 Not without blood addrest,  
 With glory Heaven, the Earth to crown with grace?"

And seeing the "High Priest of our profession" seated in royal glory at God's right hand, he asks himself, not with shrinking awe, but with faith in the indwelling presence, "*Who shall ascend (like my Lord) into Jehovah's mount?*"

<sup>1</sup> Rev. iii. 20.

<sup>2</sup> William Drummond of Hawthornden.

and who shall rise up in his holy place?" And the answer is echoed from within: "He in whose heart Christ dwelleth by faith, and who seeketh those things which are above, he shall be kept by the power of God through faith unto salvation ready to be revealed in the last time."<sup>1</sup>

T. K. CHEYNE.

### THE DESIGN OF THE APOCALYPSE.

THERE are but two possible theories of what the Apocalypse was written for. It is either essentially *predictive* or purely *descriptive*. Its proper subject-matter is either *events* or *ideas*. In the one case, its purpose is to foreshadow the future fortunes of the Church, at successive epochs of its history; in the other case, to set forth, in symbolic scenes and dramatic movements, the great *principles* that have been struggling for the mastery in all ages and in different forms—light and darkness, good and evil, the so-called *World-Power*, whether Egypt or Babylon, pagan or Papal, in hostility to the kingdom of God.

What I propose in this paper is, to examine the claims of the non-predictive, or purely descriptive theory. And I

<sup>1</sup> I have ventured to apply the title *Κύριος τῶν δυνάμεων* to the Christian's Lord, whom St. Paul, alluding perhaps to our psalm, once calls "the Lord of glory" (1 Cor. ii. 8), because I do not hold with Bishop Pearson that the *Κύριος* of the Seventy was meant as a full translation of יהוה (in which untranslatable name all the attributes of the Deity were held to be concentrated). I do not wish to bind myself to Bishop Pearson's view (*Exposition of the Creed*, 1676, p. 148), supported by the very poor authority of *Midrash Tillim* on Ps. xxi. and *Echa Rabati* on Lam. i. 6, that the name Jehovah properly belongs to the Messiah predicted in the Old Testament. Bishop Waterland's remarks on Ps. xxiv. (*Works*, ii., pp. 142, 143) seem equally to need revision to harmonize with a philological exegesis. Much as one may sympathise with Richard Baxter's words (*Preface to Version of the Psalms*, 1692), "There is no exercise that I had rather live and die in than singing praises to our Redeemer and Jehovah," it is permissible to correct "Jehovah" into "Immanuel," the only possible short name for the Christ from the point of view of Old Testament theology.

will let its advocates themselves explain it. For this purpose I select the two most recent English expositors of this book. In the *Speaker's Commentary* the late Archdeacon Lee thus writes :

"The book of Revelation (says Ebrard) does not contain passages of contingent events, but certain warnings and consolatory prophecies concerning the great leading *forces*<sup>1</sup> which make their appearance in the conflict between Christ and the enemy. So full are its contents, that every one may learn more against what disguises of the serpent one has to guard himself, and how the afflicted Church at all times receives its measure of comfort and consolation. The imagery of the book (continues Dr. Lee) naturally describes, in accordance with the whole spirit of prophecy, the various conditions of the kingdom of God on earth during its consecutive struggles against the prince of this world. . . . The spiritual application is never exhausted, but merely receives additional illustration as time runs on" (*Introd.*)<sup>2</sup>

Hear now Professor Milligan :

"It is a book which deals with *principles*<sup>3</sup> rather than peculiar *events*. The same remark indeed is applicable to all the prophetic books of Scripture ; for these are *for the most part* occupied with principles that are generally, even universally, fulfilling themselves in human life. . . . They are proclamations of eternal truths—of the sovereignty of God, of His superintendence of the world, of His approbation of good, of His hatred of evil, of the fact that, notwithstanding all the apparent anomalies around us, He is conducting to final triumph His own plan for the establishment of His righteous and perfect kingdom. It is well therefore that prophecy should be uttered *to a large extent* in general language. The men of one age see it fulfilled in what passes around them ; the men of another age do the same. The struggle between the principles of good and evil marks all time. It returns in every age, and God is always the same God of judgment."<sup>4</sup>

To do justice to this theory is far from easy, from the vague way in which its advocates express themselves. But one or two things seem obvious.

<sup>1</sup> The italics are mine.

<sup>2</sup> Dr. Lee calls this the *spiritual* view of the book ; but what his own principle of interpretation is it is difficult to discover, for his exposition consists of little else than a *catena* of interpretations which he himself does not accept.

<sup>3</sup> The italics in this extract are mine.

<sup>4</sup> *Popular Commentary on the New Testament* (Dr. Schaff's). Vol. iv., "Revelation."



1. Was this book written for no other purpose than to proclaim the sovereignty of God, His superintendence of the world, His approbation of good and hatred of evil, and how, in spite of anomalies, He is conducting to final triumph His own plan for establishing a righteous kingdom? Were these first principles, these elementary truths, of all revealed religion so obscurely expressed and so insufficiently enforced in other parts of Scripture, that it needed a book of such complicated structure and such extreme difficulty of interpretation, to make them clearer and more impressive? Why, they are themselves infinitely plainer than the book which we are told was written to enforce them. Whatever may be thought of other theories, this at least will never do.

2. It is scarcely self-consistent. Its advocates seem to oscillate between the predictive and non-predictive view of its contents. At one time we are told not to look for actual history in it; but anon they say it “deals *rather* with principles than particular events. The same remark,” adds Dr. Milligan, “applies to all the prophetic books of Scripture, which *for the most part* are occupied with principles. It is well therefore that prophecy should be uttered *to a large extent* in general language.” Now what is the use of this constant guarding against looking for “historical events” in prophecy? The question is, Are there *any* such? That there are, your own language admits; for you say it is only “for the most part” and “to a large extent” that it deals in “general principles,” and that it deals “*rather*” in these—of course implying that it *does* deal, to some extent, in “historical events.” And yet we are warned not to look in prophecy for such events. The one question clearly should be, What *is* and what is *not* predictive? That is a purely exegetical question; and, tried by this test, it is hard to see how any other than a predictive design this book can possibly have. The very first words of the book speak for

themselves: "The book of the Revelation of Jesus Christ, which God gave unto Him, to shew unto His servants the things which must shortly come to pass"; and a very unusual blessing is pronounced, and in the next words, upon "him that readeth, and them that hear the words of this prophecy, and keep those things which are written therein: *for the time is at hand.*" If this does not mean that definite historical *events* were about to happen, for which the Churches were warned to look, what can we make of such language? But is not our Lord's prophecy of the destruction of Jerusalem full of concrete historical predictions? And the apostle's prophecy of "the man of sin"—whatever it may mean—does that not bristle with concrete historical predictions? To what purpose then is it to say that prophecy deals "for the most part" with general principles? If the Apocalypse is *not* such a book, it is entirely beside the mark.

3. This theory, in its systematic form, is, so far as I know, entirely novel. I am not aware of one commentary on the Apocalypse constructed on this principle until towards the close of the last and early in the present century, when a tide of anti-supernaturalism set in upon the Church, especially in Germany, begetting a rationalistic criticism that explained away both miracles and prophecy. But if it be asked how to explain the rise of this novel theory among believing expositors, I ascribe it to despair of finding in history any events to correspond with the predictions, suggesting at length the question, What if it was never meant to predict historical events at all? May not its sole design be to hold forth in bold relief, and under the guise of old historic foes of the kingdom of God—Egypt, Babylon, Jerusalem—the ever-recurring assaults upon the kingdom of darkness?

The ablest and most ingenious exposition of this scheme of interpretation is that of the late Dr. Arnold, in his two

sermons on the interpretation of prophecy.<sup>1</sup> Since his time the anti-predictive theory of apocalyptic interpretation seems to have taken hold of a class of English interpreters of both Old and New Testament prophetic Scripture. To bring this theory to the test I know not any better way than to try it on the commentaries already referred to. To Dr. Lee I need not refer, because, as already said, his exposition of the prophetic part of the book gives no clear indication of how his theory comes out at all. But my esteemed friend Dr. Milligan is a pleasant contrast to this, his exposition being rigidly exegetical from first to last—the text and the symbols being explained with elaborate minuteness, and adhering with admirable fidelity to what he takes to be the one object of the book, to explain and illustrate great “general principles”—not to predict at all.

Thus far I had written two years ago, when, on receiving Dr. Dods’ *Introduction to the New Testament*,<sup>2</sup> I found Dr. Milligan’s theory rejected in terms even more sweeping :

“A still more effectual evasion<sup>3</sup> of the difficulties attaching to any historical interpretation, whether Præterist, Futurist, or continuously Historical, is suggested by Dr. Milligan, who proposes that we should read the book as a representation of ideas rather than events. It embraces, he thinks, the whole period of the Christian dispensation, but within this period it sets before the reader the action of great principles, and not special incidents. It is meant to impress the reader with the idea that many years of judgment, of trial, of victory must pass over the Church before the end comes. The end, indeed, is spoken of as near; but this results from the impression which could not but be received by the early Church, that now that Christ has actually come the end was virtually present. ‘The book thus becomes to us, not a history of either early or mediæval or last events, written of before they happened, but a spring of elevated encouragement and holy joy to Christians in every age.’ It exhibits the Church of Christ in its conflict, preservation, and victory; and it sees these through the forms and in the colours presented to the writer’s imagination by what he

<sup>1</sup> *Sermons on the Interpretation of Scripture*, 3rd ed., 1878, pp. 333–394.

<sup>2</sup> “Theological Educator” series, edited by Rev. W. R. Nicoll. (Hodder & Stoughton, 1888.)

<sup>3</sup> Not of course intentional, Dr. Dods would admit.

himself had seen and experienced, and by his knowledge of the Old Testament and of our Lord's discourses. It is not a political pamphlet disguised, but a vision of the Church's necessary fortunes as the body of her Lord, and His representative on earth. Babylon therefore is not pagan Rome, but the apostate Church of all ages, described in a highly elaborated picture, of which the outlines had already been drawn by the prophets. This system of interpretation has its attractions, but is certainly (1) out of keeping with the general purpose of apocalyptic literature, and (2) fails to present a sufficient motive for its composition, and (3) a sufficiently definite guide through its intricacies" (pp. 243, 244).

Of the three objections to which I have attached figures, I have dealt pretty fully with the second and third. But while it is true (according to the first) that it is out of keeping—indeed glaringly so—with the general purpose of apocalyptic literature, I must guard against the abuse to which that phrase is liable.

Of the prophetical books of Scripture, those of Daniel in the Old Testament and Revelation in the New differ widely from all the rest. In both books the subject treated of is the kingdom of God oppressed by hostile worldly powers; in both books successive periods in the history of this struggle are definitely though symbolically predicted; in both the protracted character of the struggle, as well as the final overthrow of these hostile powers and the triumphant establishment of the kingdom of God, are set forth to cheer the hearts of the faithful; while in the latter book the chronology of the conflict in its successive stages is specified with a marvellous minuteness of detail, perhaps befitting the last word of Divine revelation. There is nothing in the least like this in the other prophetical books, and this characteristic is well expressed by the word "apocalyptic."

But such hold did this feature of the book of Daniel take upon the Jewish mind after the captivity, groaning under successive oppressions, that it gave birth to productions of the same character, holding forth the expected redemption according unto the conception of their several writers; and



so fascinating was this kind of literature, that even after the New Testament "Revelation" appeared, similar writings, --or mixtures, rather, of it and Jewish works of this kind --were sent forth. The consequence of this has been, that modern critics have come to mass up all such writings, from Daniel to Revelation and onwards, under the common name of "apocalyptic literature." I cannot assent to this. Any one who compares the book of Daniel of the Old Testament and the Apocalypse of the New must see at a glance that they stand or fall together; that the New Testament Apocalypse is expressly intended as a sequel to and completion of the disclosures in Daniel about the four empires: so that if the Book of Daniel is not a genuine and authentic work, neither is the New Testament Apocalypse; whereas if this last book of the New Testament be indeed "the Revelation of Jesus Christ which God gave unto Him," to forewarn the Church of coming events, so also is its *prodromus*, the Book of Daniel. In fact, nothing could express the connexion between the two books more neatly than the phrase of Mede, that Daniel is *Apocalypsis contracta*, while the Apocalypse is *Daniel protracta*. To mass up these two books therefore with that heap of writings in imitation of them called "apocalyptic literature," ranging from the merest rubbish up to those of more or less pretensions to respectability, is not to be endured.

(The best known of these are the books called "Second Esdras" in our English Apocrypha and the "Book of Enoch." A pretty full account of both will be found in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, ninth ed., art. "Apocalyptic Literature," especially of the Book of Enoch. For the English reader the most serviceable version of it is one made by Professor Schodde of Ohio.—Andover, 1882.)

But what is to be said to the critics of the modern school, who freely admit that historical events, and not mere ideas, are the proper subject of this book, and insist therefore

that "all interpretation not strictly historical must be excluded"?<sup>1</sup> But so far from being predictive in any legitimate sense of the word, they find them all living in the near distance to that of the writer, and some of them in the course of actual occurrence in his time, requiring therefore no higher inspiration than keen insight into the signs of the times. So confident are such critics that they have at length got the true "key" to the Apocalypse in their hands, that they are bold enough to affirm that "the matter of the book is neither obscure nor mysterious," and "without being paradoxical, we may affirm that the Apocalypse is the most intelligible book of the New Testament"!<sup>2</sup> With these critics, everything exegetical in the interpretation of this book is "settled" and "beyond dispute." This is not the stage of our subject at which we can examine their interpretations in detail, but when we come to "The Structure of the Apocalypse," it will soon be seen that their "key," at least, will not do much to help us.

DAVID BROWN.

<sup>1</sup> *Encyclopædia Britannica* (ninth edition), art. "Revelation," by Professor Harnack.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

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## CODEX B.

FROM the clumsy attempt of Cardinal Mai to edit Codex B, down to the almost romantic story connected with the acquisition by the late Dean Burgon of a photograph of the page containing the end of St. Mark's Gospel, there was a seemingly hopeless mystery enshrouding the true contents and readings of this most famous manuscript—a mystery, the veil from which it seemed nigh impossible for the best intentioned critics to succeed in removing. Such was the jealous care,—nay, the vicious watchfulness,—with which the Codex was guarded by its Vatican custodians.

True, long before Mai began his ill-fated attempt, others had given the world an inkling of its contents,—Sepulveda, Erasmus, Bombasius, Brugensis, Werner, Carafa, Morinus, Caryophilus, Vossius, Possinus, Bartolucci, Zacagni, Mill, Wetstein, Scholz, Mico, Thomas Bentley, Rulotta, Birch, Hug,—a host of names, but to no sufficient purpose. Then learned Cardinal Mai stepped into the breach, but with what a result! Hear Dr. Scrivener:

“The text is broken up into paragraphs, the numbers of the modern chapters and verses being placed in the margin; the peculiar divisions of the Codex Vaticanus sometimes omitted, sometimes tampered with. The Greek type employed is not an imitation of the uncials in the manuscript (of which circumstance we do not complain), but has modern stops, breathings, accents, iota subscript, etc., as if the venerable document were written yesterday. As regards the orthography, it is partially, and only partially, modernized; clauses or whole passages omitted in the manuscript are supplied from other sources, although the fact is duly notified; sometimes the readings of the first hand are put in the margin, while those of the second stand in the text, sometimes the contrary: in a word, the plan of the work exhibits all the faults such a performance well can have. Nor is the execution at all less objectionable. Although the five volumes were ten years in printing (1828–38), Mai devoted to their superintendence only his scanty spare hours, and even then worked so carelessly, that, after cancelling a hundred pages for their incurable want of exactness, he

was reduced to the shift of making *manual* corrections with movable types, and projected huge tables of *errata*, which Vercellone has in some measure tried to supply. When once it is stated that the type was set up from the common Elzevir or from some other printed Greek Testament, the readings of the Codex itself being inserted as corrections, and the whole revised by means of an assistant, who read the proof-sheets to the cardinal, while he inspected the manuscript, no one will look for accuracy from a method which could not possibly lead to it."

This then was the first *edition*. Shall we, as we are tempted to do, skip all the worthy names which intervene, and deal at once with the object of this paper—the *last* edition? Shall we not rather pass slowly down the line of heroes, and note their struggles and their disappointments as we go? To *mention* them is to recall their trials: Tischendorf, Muralt, Tregelles, Vercellone, Kuenen, Cobet,<sup>1</sup> Buttmann, Burgon, Alford, Cure, Sergius, Fabiani, Ubaldi, Rocchi, and last, but worthy of all honour, COZZA-LUZI.

Recall poor Tischendorf's vain endeavours to edit at his own cost, Tregelles' painful feats of memory in order to retain some of the treasure dazzled so temptingly before his eyes, Burgon's and Alford's glimpses, and we can but rejoice that, as long ago as 1868 and 1881, pontifical conservatism had so far relaxed as to give the world a better and full version of Codex B's most noteworthy text. But what would all these worthies say to-day could they be in *our* position, and carry home, as we can, under our arm, *the exact photographic reproduction*, jot for jot and tittle for tittle, so to speak, of the cause of all their hopes and fears, of their struggles and their longings!

When I first heard that zealous Abate Cozza-Luzzi had been authorized to superintend the issue of a photographic reproduction of the famous Codex B, I was hardly able to believe that such a treat could be in store for the disciples

<sup>1</sup> A few days after this was written Cobet too passed to his rest (26 October ult.) without ever, I may almost state with certainty, having seen the *last* edition of Codex B.

of textual criticism. But it is now an accomplished fact, and the Greek MS. No. 1209, "the glory of the Vatican Library"—as far as regards its New Testament portion—lies before me as I write. How through all one's satisfaction at the *possession* of this much coveted treasure, for so many generations out of almost every one's reach, the sad thoughts chase each other through one's heart, and speak of those "departed this life,"—of one especially, personally very dear—who would have been so wondrously elated to possess *this* edition, and who, as Tischendorf at Mount Sinai over his beloved Codex  $\aleph$ , would have burnt the midnight oil in devouring its long hidden pages!

The cover of the case which contains the plates reads as follows:

**H NEA ΔΙΑΘΗΚΗ**  
**NOVUM TESTAMENTUM**  
**E CODICE VATICANO 1209**  
**NATIVI TEXTUS GRAECI PRIMO OMNIUM**  
**PHOTOTYPICE REPRAESENTATUM**  
  
**AUSPICE**  
**LEONE XIII. PONT. MAX.**  
  
**CURANTE**  
**JOSEPHO COZZA-LUZI ABATE BASILIANO**  
**S. ROM. ECCLESIAE VICEBIBLIOTHECARIO.**

And at foot, below the Papal arms, we note

**ROMAE**  
**E BIBLIOTHECA VATICANA**  
**AGENTE PHOTOGRAPHO DANESI**  
**MDCCCLXXXIX.**

Inside there is a repetition of the foregoing on the first page, and then a loose page of lithographed preface matter



in three columns, and on its reverse a "table of contents." The preface teaches us nothing, nor does it pretend to, but merely emphasizes the value of an absolutely facsimile edition of the manuscript, "*non artificio hominum, sed ab ipso solari lumine,*" in preference to, and as eclipsing any previous attempts. At the end the names of Hug, Scrivener, Tregelles, Tischendorf, Burgon, Mai, Vercellone, Ceriani, Giovannini, Nestle, Gebhardt, Fabiani, and Gregory are mentioned (in this order).

Then follows the main work in a series of beautiful plates, showing the manuscript to be more wonderfully preserved than I (who have not had the good fortune to see the original) had any idea was the case. It is in better preservation than our own Codex Alexandrinus. I would call attention next however to the fact that the plates are struck off on *double* quarto sheets of excellent paper; and then, being slipped one inside the other, are arranged (all except the first sheets, comprising fols. 1235-1244 and the last, comprising fols. 1505-1518) in *quinions*, to resemble the arrangement of the skins in the original. The edition—if one may so term it—has thus a great advantage over our own photographic reproduction of the British Museum Codex A, above referred to; for, instead of a series of loose sheets, as in the latter publication, we have thirteen *quinions*, containing fols. 1245-1504, one *quaternion* at the end (with the last two pages *blank*), and the first *ternion*, embracing the title-page and fols. 1235-1244 as above (with the preface lithographed on a separate sheet). The whole might therefore as easily as not be bound in "red morocco,"<sup>1</sup> and, but for the title-page (which is something of an eyesore from an attempt to keep it in harmony with the rest by giving it a kind of photographic *background*), be taken on the shelves of any library for the great **B** itself!

<sup>1</sup> Scrivener, *Plain Introduction*, 3rd edition, p. 102.

One of the first things which sprang to my mind, having now the whole of **B** before me, was, had I materials enough in the shape of photographs of Codex **N** to attempt to verify or controvert the opinion so definitely expressed by Tischendorf,<sup>1</sup> that his hand **N**<sup>p</sup> had been the author of Codex **B**, or rather, I should say, that the scribe of **B** had written six pages of the New Testament portion of **N**. I found that, out of the photographs of four pages of Codex **N** in my possession (a gift from the late Dean of Chichester) *one* was that of the page containing the end of St. Mark's Gospel and the beginning of that according to St. Luke, and hence would serve the purpose. I find however that I can only raise my voice to disagree with Tischendorf; his conclusions are based on a good many *minutiæ*, which he is at the pains to explain at length, and to which account the reader is referred, as it would be impossible to reproduce the arguments here, even in condensed form; but on comparing the handwritings themselves, and the formation of the individual letters, which formed hardly any part of Tischendorf's plan of procedure, I cannot reconcile the two. Had I space, I could take letter by letter, and go through the reasons which lead me to this conclusion; but here I can only state that the way *kappa* is made, the way in which the strokes of *nu* are joined, the way in which the cross-stroke to *eta* is imposed in each MS., forbid the idea that the same hand wielded the pen in either case. I do not even think the instrument was held in anything like the same way or at the same angle by the *two* scribes (as I must call them); in fact, the touch of him who was employed on **B** is much *lighter* than that of the scribe of **N** at this place. Compare the way *omega* is written (**B**) by the one, and *imposed* (**N**) by the other. In **N** each stroke in the formation of a letter

<sup>1</sup> *Novum Testamentum Vaticanum*. Lipsiæ, 1867. *Prolegomena*, p. xxii, etc., and *Appendix Codicum Celeberrimorum Sinaitici, Vaticani, Alexandrini* Lipsiæ, 1867. *Prolegomena*, pp. x, xi.

was an effort ; whereas in **B** the small, delightful uncials seem to have glided from the pen of its writer.

And now to the text.

This account would have been more interesting, or would certainly have attracted more attention, had I been able to draw up a long list of divergences between the previous edition in uncial type by Vercellone and Cozza, issued in 1868, and these photographs. After considerable examination, I find that I can only congratulate those editors, and their printer Marietti, on the excellence of their proof-reading (for that is to what such an edition comes) ; and although they may have been somewhat too free in printing second and later hands' additions, especially at the end of lines (in which cases in the printed edition it is impossible to distinguish between what is original and what is not), and have passed over a few minor details, and have copied the contraction bars unfaithfully, I must heartily commend the results obtained, which are now for the first time really on their trial. I have next to no doubt that a full collation of these two last editions, the one with the other, would reveal *some* inaccuracies and a few slips ; but I have tested the 1868 edition in a good many places, and have collated numbers of whole pages, and I can only subjoin the following meagre results :

Page 1279, col. 2, line 15. The 1868 edition gives at the end of the line

κρΑΒΑΤ

(line 18)

ΤΟΝ, etc.

as if to read *κρΑβΑττον*, but I cannot see any τ at the end of line 15. I do however find a kind of second β over Β, so as to read apparently *κρΑββΑτον*.

Again the same page and column, line 4 from the bottom, at the end *beta* has been added, reading

κρΑΒ

(next line)

ΒΑΤΤΟΝ, etc.

but the 1868 edition takes no notice of it, giving

κρΑ

BATTON, etc.

although the addition is evidently made by a hand to whose corrections the editors have in other places paid attention. The same thing occurs on the same page, col. 3, line 5, where Β looks very much as if it were *à primâ manu*.

Page 1277, col. 3, line 25. The tenth letter of the original scribe should be the itacism η for the ι (as given in the 1868 edition) in τριχας.

Page 1278, col. 3, line 18. An η is imposed above an ε (eleventh letter). I cannot see that ε (ΔΙΕΚΟΝΕΙ) was ever the first reading.

Page 1241, col. 3. The sectional number λζ in the 1868 edition is given to the wrong line, and should belong to the following one σταίη, etc.; there is also a line above it in the original, which in this case is not rendered in the 1868 edition.

Again page 1249, col. 3. Towards the bottom, the sectional number οθ should come exactly opposite the line below, πιοϋσιν, etc.; in fact, the θ of οθ is placed over the last mark of quotation >, and not as in the edition of 1868.

Page 1259, col. 2, last line, η now appears on the photographic plate at the beginning of the line, reading CYNNHΓΜΕΝΟΙ. Same page, col. 3, line 18, we find η at the beginning of the line, reading CYNNAIPEIN, both, as far as can be seen, the work of the first hand, though the letters stand out in the margin, and although less *correct* than the printed edition, the latter is here not *faithful*.

Then we have an opportunity of seeing the letters, words, and lines which the scribe who retraced the writing of the original hand purposely did not go over. See fol. 1262, col. 3, line 28, &c. We can also notice where the editors or printers of the 1868 edition have put in and left out

early uncial corrections, apparently at pleasure. See (*not* at the end of lines),

fol. 1264, col. 2, line 11 *omitted* in 1868

„ „ „ 26 *inserted* in 1868

and both certainly to be treated as equally important to notice, if not the first more than the last.

In conclusion, each column of writing measures  $7\frac{3}{8}$  inches long by  $2\frac{1}{4}$  in. broad; and it is an interesting point to note that before the original scribe began his task, the skins on which he wrote had already in them the majority of the *lacunæ*—holes—which they have to-day, and which he had to avoid; see pp. 1277–8, 1255–6, 1293–4, 1427–8. Further, note that later hands' alterations are comparatively few, and chiefly confined to filling up omissions in transcription by the original scribe.

Notice a glorious page, as fresh and bright as possible, fol. 1276.

And so the work begun so poorly by Mai under Pope Leo XII. has been as grandly completed this year under Pope Leo XIII. by Cozza-Luzi, to whom we owe a debt of deep gratitude, as much, or perhaps more, for his large share in the good edition of 1868, so often referred to, as for this last.

And now it remains for the Tzar to follow his predecessor's generous example of twenty-five years ago (when photographic reproduction was not known and used as it is to-day), by giving us a facsimile edition of *his* treasure, the Sinaitic Codex **Σ**.

H. C. HOSKIER.

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SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE ON THE  
NEW TESTAMENT.

TEXTUAL CRITICISM.—All who are interested in New Testament studies must have hailed with much satisfaction the publication of the first *fasciculus* of the magnificent work undertaken by Bishop Wordsworth and Mr. White. It is entitled *Novum Testamentum Domini Nostri Jesu Christi Latine secundum editionem S. Hieronymi ad codicum manuscriptorum fidem recensuit*, etc. This part or fascicle contains thirty-seven pages of explanatory remarks and the whole of the Gospel of St. Matthew. In the explanatory remarks we have an account of the origin of this undertaking and of its many hindrances and difficulties; a register and brief identification of the twenty-nine MSS. which the editors have constantly consulted for the gospels, together with some notice of those editions of the Vulgate which have been more or less consulted. In the body of the book the text is printed in columns on the upper part of the page; across the middle is printed the "Itala" as it stands in the Codex Brixianus, which is supposed to give the nearest approximation to the version used by Jerome in composing the Vulgate; while the lower part of the page is occupied by a record of various readings. Nothing could exceed the beauty of the typography, and no one can fail to recognise the diligence and skill of the editors. When complete, the work will be one of the most substantial fruits of English scholarship. The only lack the reader feels is the absence of material for forming one's own judgment regarding the relative value of the MSS. used. If the editors saw their way to issue a little handbook supplying this want, many would be grateful to them. It would by no means require to be of the size or fulness of Westcott and Hort's second volume.

In the death of Prof. Ezra Abbot, America lost her most

accurate biblical scholar. No better monument could be raised to his memory than the volume of *Critical Essays* which Dr. Thayer has edited and which Mr. Ellis of Boston has published. The well-known paper on the authorship of the fourth gospel occupies more than a fifth part of the whole volume. The other papers all bear on New Testament studies. Two are biographical, the subjects being Tischendorf and Tregelles; one is devoted to a critique of Buttmann's Greek Testament, and another to Westcott and Hort's; and about half the volume is devoted to a discussion of some of the most important readings adopted by the last-named editors. All these papers have previously appeared in American periodicals, but they were deserving of a more permanent and wider circulation than those periodicals could give them. The volume will be highly prized and often referred to by all who are interested in the New Testament text.

INTRODUCTION.—Dr. Edwin Hatch has rendered to New Testament studies a service of which it is difficult to over-estimate the value in publishing his *Essays in Biblical Greek* (Oxford, Clarendon Press). The volume contains the substance of the lectures he delivered during his term of office as Grinfield Lecturer on the Septuagint. As might be expected, a large part of the volume is occupied with discussions bearing directly on the text of the Septuagint, but the earlier portions of the volume indicate to students of the New Testament "some of the rich fields which have not yet been adequately explored, and offer suggestions for their exploration." No book has ever been published which is so likely to promote the study of the Septuagint, because no book has so clearly exhibited in well selected instances the fruitfulness of that study for the New Testament student. With the patience of the true scholar, Dr. Hatch has traced the history of many words through the periods of classical and Hellenistic Greek, and has pointed out the bearing of this

history upon the use of these words in the New Testament. In one or two instances Dr. Hatch seems unduly to press the Septuagint usage, although it must be admitted that he never does so without citing a great abundance of corroborative passages. On many previous occasions he has liberally bestowed on poorer scholars the rich fruits of his industry, learning, and research; but he has never struck a vein which it would be so profitable to work out as this of the Septuagint. One would fain construe some expressions in his preface into a promise that this first instalment of a great work may in due course be followed by complementary volumes. Meanwhile by this original and substantial contribution to the knowledge of Greek he has laid all students of the LXX, of Philo, and of the New Testament under deep obligation.<sup>1</sup>

As the readers of this journal have already had an opportunity of judging for themselves as to the merits of Prof. Godet's papers on the Epistles of the New Testament, it is not necessary to do more than chronicle their collection into one volume, and publication by Messrs. Hodder & Stoughton under the title, *Studies on the Epistles*. There is no other book in which the results of modern criticism are so conveniently accessible and so admirably sifted.

To Mr. Nicoll's "Theological Educator" the late Rev. W. H. Simcox has contributed a volume on *The Language of the New Testament*. Those who have followed with interest and with profit the career of the author, and who mourn his decease, will know what to expect in this little book. They will expect surprisingly clear and ingenious suggestions, a most competent scholarship, and that slight degree of obscurity which attaches to the writings of men whose own minds are rapid in their movements, and who do not sufficiently consider the slower comprehension

<sup>1</sup> The mournful intelligence of Dr. Hatch's death reached us after this notice was in type. A greater loss biblical literature could not have sustained.

of the ordinary reader. This volume, indeed, is better adapted for advanced students than for beginners. It is not sufficiently formal and explanatory. These are blemishes which the more advanced student will consider merits, for it is rarely that a grammar has been written with such marked originality. Not that the results are by any means revolutionary, or even strikingly new,—that was not to be expected; but the entire volume flows from the fresh and independent reading and observation of the author. The distinctive peculiarities of New Testament Greek are defined with exactness, the gradations by which one grammatical usage passes into another are clearly traced, the frontier between grammar and exegesis marked with unusual sense and discrimination. In a word, this is the most living grammar of the New Testament we have. It is not the fullest, but behind every rule and observation we come into contact with the well-informed and sagacious scholar, working his own way through every intricacy and problem of his subject. On the whole, it may be said to fill a gap, and to put in the hands of students a satisfactory and interesting guide to the language of the New Testament. It does not enter into competition with Moulton's *Winer* nor with *Buttmann*, neither ought it to oust the philosophical and handy grammar of *Thomas Sheldon Green*; but, considering price, size, and accuracy, no grammar may more confidently be recommended. The references, it may be said, are singularly correct, and the misprints are trifling (pp. 140, 143, 175, 178).

EXPOSITION.—To the “*Cambridge Bible for Schools and Colleges*” two additions have recently been made. The one is on the *Epistle to the Philippians* by Principal Moule of Ridley Hall. Mr. Moule's experience as a teacher enables him to understand what needs explanation and what does not; and this volume is commendable as well for what it omits as for what it includes. The epistle,



too, suits Mr. Moule's theological and experimental bias, and it is easy to trace in the notes the same hand that has given us the admirable *Outlines of Christian Doctrine*. Concise, lucid, and well-informed, these notes are precisely what they ought to be for their purpose.—The other volume is contributed to the Cambridge *Greek Testament* by Archdeacon Farrar. The subject is the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. However grudging is the praise bestowed by many of Dr. Farrar's critics on the herculean industry which has produced so large a theological library as he has given us, not the most grudging will deny him the praise of sound Greek scholarship. Other qualities besides this pointed him out as the suitable writer of an exposition of the *Epistle to the Hebrews*. He is in sympathy with the breadth of treatment and spiritual suggestiveness of the epistle, and he has given us in this little volume the results of considerable study. In his discussion of the authorship, he concludes that it was either written by Apollos or by some author who is to us entirely unknown. In his notes he does not trouble himself or his reader with the theories and interpretations of other writers, but summarily pronounces his own judgment and passes on. "Volumes of various explanations have been written on this verse, but the explanation given above is very simple"—yes; but sometimes it is too simple and apparently misses the difficulty. However nothing could well be better for its purpose than this volume. Much will be found in it which is not to be found in the larger commentaries, and it is full of life, vigour, and interest throughout.

To Mr. Nicoll's "*Expositor's Bible*" three additions have been made. One is on *The First Epistle to the Corinthians*, by the present writer. Another is a thoroughly ripe and beautiful study of *The Epistles of St. John*, by William Alexander, D.D., D.C.L., Lord Bishop of Derry and Raphoe. This is in every respect a remarkable book, and



worthy to stand on the same shelf with Dean Chadwick's *Mark* and Smith's *Isaiah*. It departs from the form customarily observed by writers in this series, and does so with advantage to the reader. The bishop gives us in the first part of the volume a few discourses on the author and the "surroundings" and general aim of the first epistle. In the latter part he is more exegetical than other writers in this series have been, giving us the Greek text with four translations in parallel columns. The substance of the epistles is treated in discourses which bring out with admirable lucidity and force the significance of the chief ideas. A rich vein of poetry and imaginativeness runs through these discourses, giving colour and brightness to the volume, and insuring for it a warm reception with the public. We consider this one of the most striking and fruitful contributions to expository literature of which recent years can boast. The third addition to the "Expositor's Bible" is *The Book of Revelation*, by William Milligan, D.D.; and however critics may disagree with the principles underlying this exposition, there can be no question that Christian people are more likely to derive profit from it than from the fantastic histories of the future which so often pass for expositions of the Apocalypse. Dr. Milligan has prepared himself for this work by the study of many years. Already he has published a verse by verse commentary on the book, as well as a full explanation and defence of the principles of interpretation in which he believes. The volume now published is better adapted for general reading than either of the foregoing, and the reader will find in it much to interest and much to edify. There are here and there passages of great beauty, and the volume is throughout a scholarly and worthy production.—Those who can appreciate excellence in an unpretentious form will do well to make themselves acquainted with the last issued of Messrs. T. & T. Clark's Bible-class handbooks. It is a

commentary on the *Gospel according to St. John* by Rev. George Reith, M.A., of Glasgow. It is the work of a scholar and a careful student, and of one who possesses what is even more needful than scholarship for the interpretation of John, profound and true spiritual insight. He who uses this little book for the understanding of the fourth gospel will find that he needs no bulkier helps. Preachers will especially find it the very book for their purposes.

BIBLICAL THEOLOGY.—A volume which deserves a much more elaborate notice than can here be given to it is Dr. Bruce's *Kingdom of God* (Clark, Edin.). It is devoted to an exposition of our Lord's teaching as presented in the synoptical gospels, and those who read it will consider it no extravagance to say that it is the most living contribution that has yet been made to the theology of the New Testament. It is only the first instalment of a complete theology of the New Testament, in which Dr. Bruce proposes to treat all the types of doctrine comprised in the synoptical gospels, the Pauline epistles, the Epistle to the Hebrews, and the Johannine writings. Readers of this journal do not need to be told that Dr. Bruce is a most competent guide in New Testament learning. They have had ample means of appreciating the vigour of his understanding, his mastery of his subject, and his trenchant style. The volume he has now published is not surpassed in these features by any of his writings, and from it, we are sure, students will receive a fresh impulse, and preachers derive new topics for the pulpit. We do not elsewhere possess so scientific a grouping of our Lord's teaching nor so suggestive an exposition of it.

MISCELLANEOUS.—Admirers of Frederick Denison Maurice will be glad to have the volume of extracts from his writings which so intelligent a disciple as Mr. Llewellyn Davies has made for them. He calls it *Lessons of Hope* (Macmillan & Co.), and believes that Mr. Maurice's writings went largely to the cultivation of this grace. Perhaps these writings

suffer less than most by being presented in fragments, for Mr. Maurice was more suggestive than strong in ratiocination. The volume is very prettily got up, and will be acceptable as a gift-book.—The same publishing house has issued the eighteenth edition of Mr. Francis Procter's *History of the Book of Common Prayer*. Published nearly thirty-five years ago, this full and careful history still holds its place as, on the whole, the best guide to the Book of Common Prayer. Other works of the same nature have since been written, each with its own merits; but instead of ousting Mr. Procter's volume, these more recent books have merely stimulated him to make his own more complete. In this last edition there are no alterations of any moment. The book is very handy, and is packed with information.—Mr. Herbert Bindley, of Merton College, Oxford, has published with the Clarendon Press an excellent edition of the *Apologeticus* of Tertullian. In preparing this edition he has endeavoured to meet the wants of young theological students. It seems to us he has been eminently successful, and has furnished an edition which will be found, not only helpful, but most interesting. A persual of the volume will give the student considerable acquaintance with the conditions through which Christianity had to fight its way, as well as with the laws and customs of the empire.—Messrs. T. & T. Clark have been bold enough to publish yet another system of theology: *Dogmatic Theology*, by Dr. Shedd, of Union Theological Seminary, New York, in two volumes. This is physically a ponderous book, but it is by no means heavy reading; for although Dr. Shedd keeps rigidly to the old and orthodox lines, he writes with the intelligence which necessarily accompanies reading so extensive as his, and he has managed to invest with a good deal of freshness topics which are usually considered threadbare.

MARCUS DODS.

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